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ABSTRACT

This anthology is the second volume of selected articles from the periodical Childhood Education. It includes 82 articles from 1964 to 1985 that represent many aspects of the child and the child's developmental environment. Articles by leaders in the field of childhood education, spokespersons in related fields, and teachers and parents are included. The first of the five major sections concerns the child. The articles in this section reflect the concerns and positions of the society in general: not a standardized, limited view of American culture, but a variety of subcultures and global points of view. The second section deals with the environments of the child's initial and fundamental learning experiences: the family, home, community, and world. The third section includes articles relating to the learning environment of the school. In the fourth section, the status of the profession and the directions in which it is moving are reviewed. The articles in the final section deal with issues concerning the future of childhood education. (GLR)

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VOLUME II

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EDITORS
JAMES D. QUISENBERRY, E. ANNE EDDOWES,
AND SANDRA L. ROBINSON

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READINGS FROM

CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

VOLUME II

EDITORS
JAMES D. QUISENBERRY, E. ANNE EDDOWES
AND SANDRA L. ROBINSON

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Foreword

In considering which of the many fine articles from *Childhood Education* to select for this volume, we adopted a plan to govern the selection process. The forerunner of this volume of readings was subtitled *Articles of Lasting Value* (1966). In view of the overall excellence of the articles that have appeared since in *Childhood Education*, it seemed inappropriate to retain such terminology for this volume. Instead of trying to evaluate quality by super-fine degrees of discrimination, we set up a content framework within which articles may fit.

Our plan had two main thrusts. The first was to present an overview of the field of childhood education over two decades in terms of: 1) the child; 2) the child's world (family, home, community, world); 3) the school; 4) the profession; 5) the future. The second thrust was to provide a somewhat microcosmic, yet comprehensive view of the scope and relevance of *Childhood Education's* cutting-edge coverage of the science and art of educating children. We included articles by leaders in the field of childhood education, some by teachers and parents, and some by spokespersons in related fields.

It is our hope that the reader will appreciate the timeless quality of the articles as much as we do. The content and methodology described in these articles are still applicable and relevant and, sorry to say, still missing in too many of today's homes and classrooms. As with any project of this magnitude, we imposed some restrictions on the selection process. These included: 1) reprinting no more than one article per author; 2) reprinting only articles for which we have a current copyright release; 3) using direct printer plate copies of the original articles (a restriction dictated by economic factors). Author information and cross-references, therefore, appear just as they were in the originals.

In this anthology, we made a conscious attempt to choose articles that represent as many aspects of the child and his/her developmental environment as possible. The articles in the first section reflect the concerns and positions of a society in general: not a standardized, limited view of American culture, but facets of a variety of subcultures and global points of view.

The second section deals with the environments of the child's initial and, in many ways, fundamental learning experiences: family, home, community and world. The third section of the book includes articles specifically relating to the second most important learning environment for the child: the school. In the fourth section, the articles review the status of the profession and directions in which it seems to be moving. Finally, a future-oriented section challenges us to examine the authors' messages and to be involved in influencing the future of childhood education.

The entire volume represents a tribute, not only to those writers, thinkers and teachers represented in these articles, but also to all those who have appeared in the pages of *Childhood Education* and continue to lead by their good examples and ideas.
—James D. Quisenberry, International Programs and Services, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

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Dedication

In memory of
Patty Smith Hill,
whose life work inspires us
"to look afresh
at the wonder and richness
of the state of childhood"
(Fowlkes, page 15)

Photograph by Edith Osswald, Frankfurt, Germany. Reprinted from *Dauntless Women in Childhood Education 1856-1931* (ACEI, 1972).

Gifts from Childhood's Godmother — Patty Smith Hill

Mary Anne Fowlkes

The acute need of the moment in early childhood education appears to be the rescue of childhood before it disappears. We are in danger of reverting to an earlier era that treated the young as miniature adults, obliterating the heritage bequeathed us by those who carefully carved out the field of childhood education as we know it today.

Amid the current trends of academic preschools guaranteed to produce superkids, highly structured curricula for kindergartens and a proliferation of educational technology, a voice from the past cries out to remind us to let children be children (see *Childhood Education*, November/December 1981, for more recent voices). The work of Patty Smith Hill (1868-1946), who explored ways of appropriately educating children, provides a rich inheritance in an age that laments the erosion (Suransky, 1982) and even the disappearance (Postman, 1982) of childhood.

Patty Hill's own early childhood experience was powerful in the formation of her understanding of the essence of childhood. On the grounds of Bellewood Female Seminary in Anchorage, Kentucky, a pioneer school for women started by Patty's father, the six young Hills led a charmed existence. Building with bricks, barrels, boards, they constructed things in the carpenter shop fondly dubbed "the knock house." They freely explored the woods, had an Indian pony called "Wee Wee," exchanged jibes with the chickens in the "peck house," made nature collections and romped about until their mother hung a red flag from the tower signaling her offspring to come indoors (Gwinn, 1954).

The fun-loving and musical mother sang delightful ditties to accompany such unpleasant tasks as hairwashing. In contrast to the rigid Victorian discipline of the day, Mama Hill believed that children should be allowed to do anything unless there was a good reason to forbid them (Gwinn, 1954). Father Hill, a Presbyterian minister and editor of *The Presbyterian Herald* until its cessation due to the interruption of mail service during the Civil War, was a wise educator and parent. In Patty Hill's reflections on her childhood, she claimed that her father understood young people so well that there were never any discipline problems in his school or home!

The Hill parents, both orphaned at an

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early age and deprived of a happy childhood, were determined that their own offspring and pupils would fare better. Although humanistic in their respect for children and youth, the parents inculcated a complementary sense of social responsibility with the freedom allowed. Papa Hill encouraged his daughters, as well as sons, to think about careers, insisting that it was indeed a tragedy for a girl to marry for a home.[1] Accordingly, the women at Bellewood in the late 1860s were rigorously educated in sciences, languages and logic.[2] Responsible decision-making, coupled with freedom of thought and expression, was a part of the Hill legacy passed on through daughter Patty.

Patty Hill's other inheritance was from Froebel who, as father of the kindergarten movement, celebrated the nature of childhood in valuing play as the appropriate mode of learning. Coupled with her own father's stimulation of intellectual curiosity, Patty Hill appropriated the spirit of Froebel's teaching with questions as to its relevance to the rapidly changing cultural milieu of the late 19th-century America. Her attempts to revise and interpret Froebel in her day parallel current trends in translating Piaget's work into educational practice today (Hewes, 1976). Much to the chagrin of the Froebel purists, Patty Hill challenged the rigid Froebelian "standard curriculum" and advocated teaching children in accordance with the emerging principles of human growth and development gleaned from the child study movement pioneered by John Dewey, G. Stanley Hall and others. Attention to child development as the foundation for teaching is a timely antidote to the current fad for regimented preschools, basic skills curricula and the factory approach to produce superkids. A new look at Patty Smith Hill's legacy may help us focus on the essence of childhood and why it is important to keep her vision alive.

Patty Hill's Legacy

The gifts from Patty Hill include a healthy respect for the value of play, a creative approach to art and music, an inquiring mind always open to the scientific study of children, an individualized perspective on curriculum supervision related to different cultural contexts, a deep social consciousness and, above all, the courage of her convictions. Little wonder she is included in ACEI's *Dauntless Women in Childhood Education 1856-1931* (Snyder, 1972).

Patty Smith Hill, as all kindergarten teachers of the day, was well trained in the ways of Froebel, grounded in the premise that play is the child's natural way of learning. Her own model and teacher in the Louisville Free Kindergarten Training School (1887-89) was Anna Bryan who, although trained as a Froebelian in Chicago, challenged the rigidity with which Father Froebel was interpreted. With protege Hill at her side doing accompanying illustrations, Anna Bryan aired her views before the National Education Association in 1890 in a speech entitled "The Letter Killeth" (Snyder, 1972). With Bryan as mentor, Patty began to explore for herself the values of play in young children.

Ms. Hill's emerging philosophy of childhood is magnificently articulated in her 1889 graduation speech from the Louisville Training School:

> Poor Adam! And poor EVE! If they never were children they never played! If they never enjoyed wholesome play they ought to have our deepest sympathy — Play is universal; we find all the descendants of Adam, of every tribe and nation under the shining sun, gathering together and playing . . . . In order to develop itself, childhood is given this instinct to almost ceaseless activity . . . life seeking expression through action . . . is the law of

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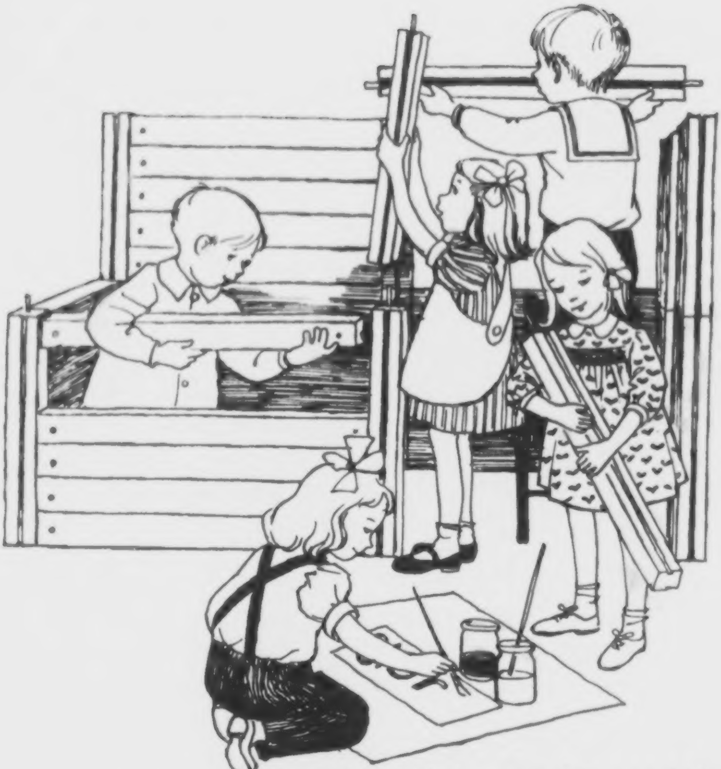
[1] Patty S. Hill, "Memories from Childhood," handwritten notes. Patty Smith Hill Papers, Filson Club Library, Louisville, KY.

[2] William Wallace Hill, Bellewood Female Seminary Catalogue. Patty Smith Hill Papers, Filson Club Library, Louisville, KY.



Patty Smith Hill blocks—a new challenge to children

Reprinted from *Dauntless Women in Childhood Education 1856-1931*. Drawing by Dagmar Wilson

growth. Its opposite would be repression and suppression which is necessarily stunting.[3]

The starry-eyed young teacher's speech went on to amplify the ill effects in later adult life for children denied a healthful period of play. In her keen observation of the meaning of play, Patty Hill foreshadows the work of Jerome Bruner (Bruner, Jolly and Sylva, 1976), Brian Sutton-Smith (Herron and Sutton-Smith, 1971) and Michael Ellis (1973), who have rekindled our recent thinking about the importance of play in child development.

The universal and timeless theme of child's play was a dominant theme developed by Patty Hill throughout her career. She sought further study in the psychology of play with Dr. Earl Barnes in 1896 and in 1898 with Dr. Luther Gulick, the father of the playground movement in America (Snyder, 1972). She designed the Patty Hill blocks, the forerunner of our present large hollow blocks, so that children could build houses and stores large enough to get inside and sturdy enough that they "would not tumble down or the roofs cave in,"[4] as had the barrels and boards in her younger days on the grounds of Bellewood. Other playroom inventions were the Hill-Hart chairs and accompanying sets of wheels, rods and bars with which one could make a variety of wagons, go-carts, baby carriages and cars.[5] The long-term benefits of play as an avenue both of expression and prevention for later social and psychological ills may well be needed in a world where teachers bemoan the fact that children do not know how to play anymore.

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[3] Patty S. Hill, "Deep Meaning Lies in Children's Play," handwritten original manuscript, 1889. Patty Smith Hill Papers, Filson Club Library, Louisville, KY.

[4] Beulah Amidon, "Forty Years in Kindergarten," an interview with Patty Smith Hill for *Survey Graphic*, Sept. 1927. From original copy, Filson Club Library, Louisville, KY, p. 17.

This same philosophy of childhood that promoted free play encouraged creativity in music and art as well. Patty Hill fought against "concert singing" which she claimed emphasized "bad habits" and was judged by "quantity of sound."[6] Rather, the legacy of Patty and her sister, Mildred, includes *Song Stories for the Kindergarten* (1896). As the two sisters observed the natural poetry and rhythm in children, they developed childlike phrases and songs in which the harmony of words and music melded to form a rich repertoire of children's songs. In addition, Hill claims, "we introduced tone plays with bells, triangles, horns, water in tumblers . . . everything to call the children's attention to the beauty of sounds."[7] The Hill sisters are most frequently remembered, however, for the universal favorite "Happy Birthday to You," which was originally titled "Good Morning to You."

Hill's stimulation of children's drawings caught the attention of psychologists from around the U.S. who wrote to Louisville for samples of her children's free art work.[8] Reflecting on her forty years of kindergarten teaching, Hill described her own experience with the formal drawing lessons:

> (When) I entered kindergarten work forty years ago . . . children began by drawing horizontal lines, first one inch, then two inches, three inches, four inches — followed by a group of five lines drawn diagonally. Finally, children were rewarded by being allowed to combine these lines into houses.[9]

That her influence in free expression may be waning is seen in early childhood classrooms today where 25-30 houses constructed alike are lined up along a classroom wall as examples of children's art activity.

Patty Hill's fight for free expression in children's play, music and art was based on astute observation of child behavior. Her alliance with psychologists sharpened her scientific approach to child study. When G. Stanley Hall invited a bevy of early childhood educators to study with him in the summer of 1895, the whole corps, save two individuals, walked out on the esteemed psychologist. Patty Hill and Anna Bryan of the Louisville Free Kindergartens remained to explore his intriguing new ideas (Snyder, 1972). The fascination with defining and measuring behavior led Patty Hill to design kindergarten report cards. In her later years as a professor at Teachers College, Columbia University, she produced a list of desirable habits for young children which anticipates our own preoccupation with skills check lists. Thus Professor Hill's unending quest to understand the nature of childhood continued throughout her career.

From her insights about children and how they learn, she developed a philosophy of supervision which allowed, even encouraged, the individual directors and teachers to plan activities based on the different ethnic, social and intellectual backgrounds of their children. In the 1890s in Louisville she fought for urban-oriented field trips, work songs, factory and shop play, in stark contrast to the pure forms of nature from German idealism characteristic of true Froebelian curriculum. At the turn of the century, teachers in the Louisville kindergartens directed by Hill experimented with many new ideas which visitors from around the country came to observe.

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[5] For photographs and detailed descriptions of the Hill designed materials, see Charlotte Garrison's book in the Series on Childhood Education edited by Patty Hill (Garrison, 1926)

[6] Amidon, p. 17.

[7] Ibid., p. 17.

[8] Ibid., p. 18.

[9] Ibid., p. 18.

Hill's classic comment about her children and their teachers, "God made them all so different, how can we feed them a standard diet" (Jammer, 1960) was reflected in her own teaching. Her disdain for a rigid and standardized curriculum is summed up in her description of teaching gleaned from her father. According to Dr. William Wallace Hill, there were two kinds of teachers:

> —cookbook teachers and checkerboard teachers — A cookbook teacher sits down in the evening, measures out so much arithmetic; so much spelling; so much music according to a pedagogical recipe and the next day spoon-feeds it into his pupils — But suppose instead — we were getting ready for a game of chess or checkers — when we sit down with our opponents — the vital factor — (is) the reaction of the other mind to the moves we make — of course cookbook teaching is easier. But the other kind — well, from the child's point of view, the other kind offers possibilities for real adventure, and for the teacher, it is a lot more fun![10]

Godmothers are remembered mostly for the gifts they give to their godchildren in times of dire need. In an era of resurgent conservatism, back-to-basics mentality and teacher burn-out, perhaps we would do well to pause and listen to the voice of the godmother of early childhood educators, Patty Smith Hill, who calls upon us to look afresh at the wonder and richness of the state of childhood, which seems to be disappearing rapidly.

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[10] Amidon, pp. 20-21.

ACEI

1892-1992 Centennial Notes . . .

"The story is told that Patty Smith Hill, attending a Broadway play one night, was astonished to find her 'Happy Birthday' song used. As she listened a plan began to formulate in her mind. She made no mention that night of her intentions. Later she filed suit against the producer of the play for using her copyrighted composition without obtaining her permission. She asked a large sum of money and won the case. This sum was immediately turned into appropriate use for young children for whom 'Happy Birthday' had originally been composed. New nursery schools and kindergartens were started in the housing units of New York where they were urgently needed. Materials and equipment were purchased for them with these funds and with royalties from the song." **Margaret Rasmussen,** "Over the Editor's Desk," *Childhood Education* Vol. 37, No. 7 (March 1961), cover 3.

Section 1

The Child

It is doubtful that any other culture or civilization, past or present, has devoted as much scientific study and scholarly attention to its children as the one in which we find ourselves. Progress has been the general result, though one could cite examples where overfocus on a set of data has worked to the detriment of children's well being. The articles in this section focus on facets of the child and aspects of child development, including some areas that could be considered curricular. Such areas as language arts, literature, mathematics and social development are evident in this section because they are important, integral elements in the child's development, regardless of setting. ACEI has never been locked into a focus on a particular content area or age level, though its beginnings were at the primary levels. Thus, we have included articles on various aspects of the whole child, and on each general age and stage.

Since some of the articles deal specifically either with early childhood (preschool through grade 3) or with later childhood (4th grade through junior high), the section has three subdivisions. The first and the most extensive addresses childhood in general; the second, early childhood; and the third, later childhood or early adolescence.

Those who have attended the annual ACEI Study Conference in the past several years have noticed increasing emphasis on the "I" of ACEI, our international component. While ACEI has obviously grown beyond an exclusive focus on childhood education in the United States, the articles selected represent mainly an overview of the child in North America. Yet, all reflect a number of global concerns and focuses important during the two decades covered.

It is interesting to note that, in spite of the "age" of some of the articles, and in spite of ACEI's constant attention to current educational issues, many of the principles that guide what is best in children's education seem to remain unchanged or are only slightly modified by new information. The double-barreled implication is 1) that ACEI has been careful to publish only the best ideas about children and how they should be cared for and 2) that the fundamental facts about the way children learn to relate to their world haven't changed much over the years. Subsequent sections of this book ("The Child's World," "The School," "The Profession," "The Future"), on the other hand, are arenas that have seen major and important changes during this time period.

These articles (and the many others that could not be included because of space limitations) provide us with a look at where we have been, as well as a reminder of those ideals not yet realized in our treatment and care of children. This brief overview of 20 years of *Childhood Education* may encourage you to revisit the high quality professional writing and practical information available in past issues. Print formats and clothing styles have changed, but what was quality then, as you will see, is still quality.—**James D. Quisenberry, International Programs and Services, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale**

By JEAN PIAGET

The Psychology of Intelligence and Education

Abstract of an address by Jean Piaget, delivered on January 21 at the University of Pennsylvania at the Graduate School of Education's conference commemorating fifty years of achievement in education at the University. Piaget is director of the University of Geneva's Rousseau Institute of Educational Sciences and one of the world's foremost developmental psychologists.

STUDIES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF INtelligence permit a great number of deductions which are important for education. I shall talk about only four of these.

1. The stages or "states" characteristic of the structuring of intelligence, like those of embryological development, embody a sequential characteristic. By this I mean that (a) their order is constant, and (b) each state is necessary for the stage which follows. Nevertheless, the chronological age at which a stage of development occurs varies with the [child's] environment. This means that acceleration is possible to a certain degree. However, there is no advantage in magnifying such acceleration.

(a) The childhood of man is very much longer than that of animals, and this is necessarily the case.

(b) Experiments by Gruber on the progress of permanent achievement among kittens show that cats arrive at three months at the level attained by human infants aged nine months, but the progress of the kitten ceases, while the human child continues to progress.

2. Learning, in reality, depends on development, contrary to the widespread opinion that development is a consequence of a series of learning experiences. This means that if one desires the child to acquire certain logical concepts (for example, that of "conservation") or if training is directed to the acquisition of certain verbal concepts, the results obtained with different children are very different depending upon the level of the individual. When Professor Jerome Bruner says that the individual is able to learn anything at any age, he overlooks the biological character of development.

3. The mechanism of development has considerable meaning from the point of view of education. Along with such well-known factors (each necessary but insufficient in itself) as maturation, experience with objects and social interactions, it is necessary to consider also the factor of "auto-regulation" or achievement of equilibrium, whose biological significance is fundamental. It is therefore urgent not to forget and even to provide facilitation in helping the child to improve his own activity.

4. The intelligent act consists of the coordination of operations. These operations are essentially internalized action. It is fundamental not to be satisfied alone with verbal methods or even intuitive methods (images, etc.) but to facilitate spontaneous action and experimentation by the child. This by no means excludes education in thought and reflection. However, to comprehend is essentially to invent or to reinvent, and every time one teaches too quickly an outcome of reflection, one hinders the child from discovering it or from inventing it by himself.

By KENT E. MYERS

CREATIVITY and INTELLIGENCE

Kent E. Myers, associate professor, College of Southern Utah, Cedar City, wrote "Factors of Imagination" in **Childhood Education**, *April, 1963, to which this is a follow-up article.*

THESE TWO WORDS, *creativity* AND *intelligence*, are perhaps the most significant terms in today's literature of education. Challenging new research has produced a series of changes in our concepts of the real meanings of the terms. It has been reported that the brain may be so structured that over 120 potential intellectual functions can be completed. Research also shows that there are many erroneous ideas about what intelligence tests really measure. (8)

It is time to clear the air about the confusion in terminology when we discuss intelligence and creativity. First, intelligence has generally been defined to mean the ability to solve problems or the few things measured on an intelligence test. An emerging definition would include these abilities but would indicate that many other abilities are involved in intelligence.

Intelligence is a composite of all these abilities, not just the few connected with problem solving. Creativity is a part of that total intellect. Tests which now just measure five to eight important functions of the brain need revision and expansion. There is no guarantee that *if* you identify the highly intelligent with this kind of test that you have identified the highly creative. In fact, approximately 70 percent of the most highly creative would be eliminated. (2)

Some researchers have suggested that we let intelligence mean just what is tested on the present tests and classify all other functions of the brain in new ways. Creativity is a form of intelligence; it cannot be separated from the intellectual functions we are now measuring because it is also an integral function of the brain. The cognitive processes do not happen individually in the complex structure of the brain, but occur with great overlapping and in many cases simultaneously.

It is evident that those who first gave a definition to the term *intelligence* had such a broad scope in mind; but the restrictions of intelligence tests, which were intended to measure this scope, were so great that the definition was changed to mean those things measured by the tests.

Intelligence tests as now constructed could, perhaps, be maintained to measure the limited kinds of functions they measure. They do have a high correlation with academic success, as the schools are now organized; and, as a predictive tool in the present curricula, they have value but not as much predictive value as has often been claimed by those who build and use the tests. Reports of longitudinal studies indicate great variation in their predictive value. (5)

Relating Previously Unrelated Things

Creativity calls for problem-solving abilities, but these abilities are not of prime importance to the creative mind. Measures of intelligence which will meet this emerging concept—many abilities forming the total intellect—must also measure flexibility, originality, ability to evaluate in many ways, ability to redefine, sensitivity to materials presented, ability to elaborate, ability to restructure mental schemata for perception, fluency and inventiveness.

The term *creativity*, as a part of intelligence, is probably best described as "relating previously unrelated things." It not only means creating something which is unique when judged in context with someone else's product, but it means creating something unique when compared in the realm of his own products and work. (7)

There can be no separation of creativity and intelligence. These two terms are not synonymous, but one is a part of the other. The broad concept of intelligence as the total of brain functions is the thesis here, and creativity is a part of that total. Elliot W. Eisner wrote, "If our conception of intelligence were more adequate, if we conceived intelligence not merely as what intelligence tests test but as the efficient and effective utilization of means to achieve desired ends, then the need for a separate concept of creativity disappears. In short, I am suggesting that the reason creativity and intelligence seem to be unrelated is that we have been using in our research a restricted conception and measure of intelligence." It is now becoming more evident that man does not have just intelligence but he has creative intelligence. (1)

Teaching and Creative Intelligence

Creativity is paid tremendous lip-service by educators and researchers. But are changes being made in classrooms which foster the use of the brain in creative functions?

Evidence of classroom and curricula organization would indicate an answer of "no" to the preceding question. The functions which we measure in the intelligence tests are generally those required by students in the classrooms: memory, verbal comprehension, spatial and mechanical concepts, and other reasoning functions. Creative functions which often require some divergent thinking are not only *not* fostered but children are generally penalized for attempting to use them.

Creative functions which allow creative development are not fostered. Conformity is much more important to the teacher and the students and usually represses creative endeavor. Experimentation or trying out is fostered at times, but generally only when the teacher can predict the results.

Orientation to man as a creative being must take place in the minds of teachers. Positive action must result from such an orientation. (6)

Creative intellectual functions on the part of the teacher will foster creative-intelligence development in the child. Teachers can evolve the creative process in themselves and the children. *First*, the teachers must have courage to strive for openness to new experiences for themselves and their students. *Second*, there must be a willingness to investigate and experiment. Third, the teacher must allow children the right of self-determination in bringing an order to the discoveries resulting from pupil-teacher investigations. *Fourth*, the teacher and the child must achieve some kind of end product which can be re-evaluated and changed if future learning and creative action deem such a change as positive and necessary.

The teacher who has developed his own creative intelligence is responsive to children. Children who receive little or no response or who receive consistent negative response from their teachers are not likely to develop their creative intelligence.

There is much to be said for the responsive teacher. This teacher has the courage to risk the possibility of creating a new teacher-learner world where divergency is not always responded to with negation. This teacher is responsive to the newness of any situation. *The responsive teacher knows that every child, every adult, every class is different and makes the most of the differences rather than trying to reduce the differences to a mediocre middle-ground on which all can feel secure and often bored.*

Teaching to foster creative intelligence becomes response to the inputs of each child in such a way that the teacher-learner experience is shared and the child is challenged to make attempts at self-determination in a world closer to reality and with more possibilities for action because of the experience.

Marie Hughes writes, "Responsiveness is the material with which the teacher creates; the *product* is the meaning that emerges from the interaction." (3) This product is the end toward which the responsive teacher is striving, but it is not an end that is always predetermined by the teacher and it need not be the same product for all children.

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By ETHELOUISE CARPENTER

Who's Kidding?

When teachers and parents try to maneuver children into thinking what they want them to think, children learn deception rather than loyalty to their own independent feeling. This is then frequently looked upon as defiance, immaturity and failure to see relationships, asserts Ethelouise Carpenter, Kent State University, Ohio.

THE ART OF TEACHING IS OFTEN AN artful art and, consciously or not, it maneuvers children into positions of vulnerability. Crafty is the adult in making his choices emerge as children's choices. "Wouldn't it be nice if we . . .?" is almost synonymous with "Do it my way," except that it has more of a conscience in it. A tone of sympathetic understanding saves "Do you really want to use pink with red?" from being criticism or imposing of adult values. There is a comradeship about "Why don't we . . .?"; and "You aren't *really* going to do that?" is protected from being an adult decision by virtue of its being loaded with reliance on the child's second thoughts.

The teacher's subtle influence upon children's values, upon their decisions and their thinking, is unquestionable; but its significance seems to be given little attention, except where it is a positive factor. We have all found ourselves reversing or re-examining a personal decision when someone strong destroys it by a look or a comment before we've had time to send it forth. What we do to children as they face the "wisdom of our years" reflects the values we hold as people and as learners.

Children in moving from one teacher to another learn to rationalize inconsistencies and create truths out of idiosyncracies, in their fierce devotion to the person of the teacher.

Two children in the elementary grades stopped in the kindergarten, gazed at the guinea pigs and rabbits they had loved; one asserted, "Animals aren't good to have in school. They smell and they're bad for allergies." Asked if they noticed this in kindergarten the other said, "No, but we loved them. I guess it didn't matter then."

Adult Expectations

Some college students in teacher education were carrying on a "science lesson" in a first grade. They asked children to raise their hands (ah, the security of one's own school experience!). The children asked if they had to. "We can wait when someone else is talking." But later, somewhere along the line, handraising would be the thing to do; and without it they couldn't volunteer ideas or ask questions!

"In third grade we don't have time to play." (And yet there is time to sit and wait for others to finish!)

"Blocks are for little kids."

"It's dangerous to have woodworking tools in the room; and besides, it's too noisy when we have to work."

Value judgments? Reasoning? Creative thinking?

- Do young children really want to invite adults to see a practiced play? Don't they really prefer a short informal do-it-now-for-us?
- Are children really thankful for all the things they list for the reading chart at Thanksgiving?
- Is learning to read this year as important to the child as it is to the adults?

Do we *practice* as much knowledge as we have of children; or do we continue to be typed in children's eyes, so that children behave according to individual adult expectations rather than to their own growing selves? Standards there must be, but not obeisance to whims.

A satisfying activity

A child's loyalty to his own independent feelings is often looked upon as defiance, immaturity, failure to see relationships. Not only does what the teacher wants or doesn't want affect the child's evaluation of himself and his physical environment, but it also patterns his social self.

Using Children To Promote Adults

Children's behavior is saturated with the run-off of the adult conscience. The young child projects the values of adults with whom he has close contact, and yet he does not see time and place as value-related factors. The projection does not always come at the right time, and it must be forced out. At the close of a wonderful morning at a farm, "What do you say to Mr. Wilson for showing us his farm?" breaks the continuity, the sense of oneness with the experience. Thirty loud, mechanically intoned "Thank yous" present the virtuous picture of a well-mannered "my group" and the teacher's image is preserved. Why can't he just say an enthusiastic "Thank you" as he and the group leave in continuing conversation with Mr. Wilson and let children absorb the courtesy? Making the gesture is simply making the gesture, and who's kidding whom?

Like marionettes and puppets who balance the "ams" and "want-to-bes," children are often buffers between adults and what they wish other people to believe about them. Teachers use children to promote themselves. Hunger for recognition prompts them to use children, to show what they have taught. Children

Girls make things of wood, too.

do not need the kind of publicity that comes from lining up and holding handmade maps of Mexico for a picture for a local paper. Adults apparently do.

Perhaps there is justification for the need to publicize one's activities with children. If there is, it may well come from professional loneliness. Teachers reach out to other adults through children with whom their working hours are spent. The teacher is interested in the learning process as it evolves; the child is involved in living it. The teacher needs to share with other adults the things he sees happening—his living of the experience. It somehow seems less obvious for children to provide the link between adults who are afraid to share with and praise each other. There still remain, however understanding we try to be, the teachers who want people to *see* what they consider good. They are not content to have it just happen. Children who project the teacher as a controller of children, accomplisher of big events and molder of lives do something for the teacher's security in the society of other adults. What children have actually *learned* is often only a way of *seeming* to behave as they are expected to. The children too become artful. They have learned to fool themselves as well. When they later become college students they ask: "What grade did he give you on that test?" "What does he want us to study for the test?" "Are we expected to remember all the points on page 8?"

For the most part our children have been taught to accept. They accept the books chosen, the teacher's word, the answers someone else gives. They accept, if teachers' values seem absolute

"They said they'd work on the committee."

All photos courtesy of Terry Carpenter

and if other adults are convincing. There are actually few absolutes, yet children learn there are many.

Answers or Thinking?

Teachers often pull harder to get answers than to get thinking. They know what they want and the expedient way to get it. Right answers mean good teaching, so acceptable responses come from tightening loose strings. "Well, *perhaps* that might work. Who has a better idea?" "What can *you* say?" (In other words, "Guess what I'm thinking!")

Children don't want learning to come easily. They want to take it apart and put it together. They want to feel learning and to play with ideas.

> "What does six mean? What does a six dress mean? Does a six shoe fit a six-year-old? How about a size six hat? What size dress does *this* six-year-old wear? What is a size? If everyone cuts a six-inch string, compare the sizes. How about a six-inch board? Can you measure with something else? Blocks? Hands?"

Again and again we find evidence of the tremendous differences between children whose parents and teachers have filled their lives with real value-making experiences and children who have been taught to verbalize adult values without the experience of testing them.

Children themselves are often their own salvation. Some accept being pulled up into place, but others continue to have loose strings and sag in the most obvious ways. And the child whose strings keep breaking, from the creative urges within, has another knot and still another tied in the string to his trying-out self; and the knots do show! When "someone comes in" it is safest to use the child who responds best to the pull on the strings! Who's kidding whom?

Courtesy of ISR Newsletter

What are ways children can help one another learn? Challenging possibilities are revealed in three models that focus on the child as responsive person, self-teacher, teacher of others.

Peggy Lippitt is Project Director of the Cross-Age Helping Program and Ronald Lippitt is Program Director of the Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.

The Peer Culture as a Learning Environment

PEGGY LIPPITT and RONALD LIPPITT

TEACHERS OF THE FUTURE, rather than being themselves the major resources for learning, will be designers and orchestrators who identify, retrieve and facilitate use of the resources of others. As social scientists have learned, however, providing an enriched environment is not in itself enough to assure effective learning.

Each child-learner is already immersed daily in a *human* environment full of transactions with age-mates, younger peers, older peers and a variety of adults; but very little of the resource-potential of these contacts is constructively utilized to enhance his growth. Indeed, the many influences a child receives from those around him often conflict or compete in ways that prevent integrative self-development. Why? What can be done about it?

Many children incorrectly assume that the norms and expectations of their peers militate against active involvement in learning tasks or collaboration with teachers. Noncommunication about real feelings helps perpetuate such misunderstandings—as do adult-created *competition* between like-age peers, *separation* and *exploitation* by older peers, and *authority barriers* between adults and children. Too often asking for help is viewed as a sign of weakness or giving up of autonomy.

—Suzanne Szasz, New York

Needed Improvements in the Educational Resource Environment

Derived from these observations are directions for needed improvements in the human resource environment. Ways must be found to

- legitimize the use of like-age peers as noncompetitive resources that seek and give help to each other
- connect older peers to younger peers as constructive models and providers of educational counsel
- foster open communication about learning goals and expectations in the classroom group so as to promote group norms that support individual differences of effort and commitment
- develop self-esteem and self-potency in each child so that, rather than be a passive and defensive victim of a barrage of inputs from others, he gains initiative to use others selectively as resources for his own growth.

Three current innovations in educational practice that serve as action-models are designs for (1) establishing a classroom human resource bank that includes all members of the class; (2) utilizing cross-age educational helpers; (3) developing peer-group norms about the use of teachers and other adults as resources.

Classroom Resource Bank

Here is an actual example. On the wall in the back of a fourth-grade classroom is a copy of the Classroom Resource Directory, entitled "Who's Good at What in This Class?" It contains a separate page of information about each student and an index of resources, with names for each item—e.g., "American History" (Jerry, Nancy, Eldridge); "Basketball" (Jackie, Peggy, Larry); "Computer" (Tim, Mary, Jack); "Settling Quarrels" (Sonia, Mildred, Tim). To develop this directory, students paired to interview each other with a prepared interview schedule designed to elicit many types of resource materials. The first version of the directory was revised to include additional information the children and the teacher learned about each other's resources.

The teacher encourages and supports active use of the directory at any time and makes frequent referrals to it when approached for help. Several good class discussions have been conducted about skills involved in being a good helper and an intelligent seeker for help. Now the class is beginning a directory of adult and child human resources (a) in the entire school building and (b) in their community. This procedure can work from first grade through high school.

Cross-Age Helping

Many schools now include some type of Cross-Age Helping Program in their curriculum. One effective model includes two types of training for older student helpers.

First, they take part in a seminar discussion and skill-practice session held once a week by the principal or someone he designates—a counselor, a social worker or a teacher. Sometimes the training is led by a pair of staff people, such as a teacher and a parent-volunteer aide, or the sending teacher and the receiving teacher to whom the older helpers are to be sent. The goal is to learn how to relate constructively to younger children, to make them feel important and successful. Discussions therefore focus on ways to help them feel that their wishes are being considered and that they are growing in skill.

The *second* type of training, given through weekly briefing sessions with teachers of youngsters to whom older students are assigned, stresses how to help with specific content material. At these meetings the teachers and older helpers discuss goals to be achieved with the younger children and exchange ideas about effective ways to attain those goals.

Protecting the older student's self-image as an "expert" is easier if he is at least two grades ahead of the child he is helping—sixth-graders work with third grade and below, fifth-graders with second grade and below, etc. Often those older students who themselves have difficulty in learning prove very understanding of the difficulties a younger child is encountering and, thereby, feel competent and useful as helpers.

In a self-contained elementary classroom, older students may help at various times of the day, depending upon mutually satisfactory agreements between the teachers involved. In a junior or senior high school program, older helpers usually come from one class—in psychology, perhaps, or social studies or homemaking. A junior high school arrangement that appears to work very well schedules cross-age teaching as an elective. Participants help two or three times a week in cooperating elementary school classrooms and spend a period another two days in a teaching seminar.

Cross-Age Helping has proved beneficial in a number of unforeseen ways. Teachers and administrators find that this concept of education has not only afforded valuable resources with small budget outlay but has also provided an effective link between the generations. It gives older students a chance for status and influence in ways other than confrontation and rebellion. Learning as they teach, older students often discover that by helping their younger peers they can at a safe emotional distance work through some of their own problems in relating to others. They also gain an apprenticeship in a number of service-oriented jobs and encouragement to assume voluntary citizenship roles.

Younger children in turn naturally look to an older peer for accepted norms and examples of what they themselves can become. Younger students who are experiencing difficulty in school sometimes will accept needed support from older peers more readily than from adults; those youngsters quicker than their classmates may in turn be helped to explore new material and avoid the problems of boredom. Added to improved academic performance, therefore, are better attitudes toward self, teachers and others.*

Developing Peer Group Norms About Adult Resources

All children need (and most would like) active, supportive relationships with interested adults—teachers, parents, club leaders and others. But the climate of intergenerational conflict and attitudes about authority roles causes many children and youth to feel strong inhibitions about reaching out to an adult for help. The collusion of noncommunication and ignorance leads pupils to feel that most of their peers would actively disapprove of their being friendly toward or working too actively to please the teacher—or even of their seeking needed help from an adult-resource. On the other hand, teachers and parents worsen the situation by a continuous invitation to "tell" children what resources to use, without having been asked or having arrived at joint goals and plans. As a result of a variety of skilled defenses against "being told," the young reject, avoid, or at best tragically under-utilize their adult mentors.

A curriculum project in "How To Use Grown-ups" has proved to be an effective way to help children break the vicious circle of child-adult hostility that appears to be spreading throughout our society, even at the lower elementary level.

The project starts with analysis by the class of a preplanned role-playing episode in which a teacher (one of the children) conducts a lesson with three pupils. One of the three soliloquizes reluctance to ask for help because of concern about "what the other kids will think." Another sees the teacher as disliking him. The third feels the teacher will be disappointed if he is unable to "do it alone."

Observation teams of three or four students discuss their interpretations of *why* role-playing children are using the teacher inadequately and *how* he and the children might behave differently to relate better and learn more; often this advice is tried out in a new episode. The open analysis and discussion effectively develop new expectations and norms about child-initiative in seeking and utilizing resource helpers.

Summary

Barriers of competitiveness, exploitation and distrust cause human resources to be tragically under-utilized. As educators accept the necessity to individualize instruction, they must seek to provide for differences in learning goals, rates and styles. More and more it becomes crucial that they create environments where learners are also teachers, motivated to give help, trusted and trusting in efforts to seek help from others.

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* For further information about Cross-Age Helping, write the Institute for Social Research, Cross-Age Helping Program, CRUSK, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

By CHARLOTTE S. HUCK

Literature's Role in Language Development

Charlotte S. Huck, professor of education, The Ohio State University, Columbus, gives ways language may be developed through fine literature. Examples from eighteen stories may spur the reader to reread them.

LINGUISTS REGULARLY REMIND US THAT oral language is the living language, that the written word is only recorded language. This may be true, but certainly these two aspects of our language are so interrelated and interdependent as to be almost inseparable. The oral pattern of speech influences what is written and the written word greatly enriches the spoken one. Language may be developed without a knowledge or understanding of its written record, but the polished richness and delicacy of any language are presented in its literature and not in its oral idiom—for literature feeds the tree of language and helps it to establish deep roots and fragile blossoms.

Children should be immersed in books, in meaning of words and ideas in books from their earliest childhood. Kindergarten and primary teachers know the value of reading and telling stories to children to extend their experiences and to give them new vicarious experiences. They also know that children's listening to fine literature will increase their vocabularies and develop their sensitivity to language. Since children's reading ability seldom equals their appreciation level, middle-grade pupils also benefit from the daily story hour. At this level literature may serve as a model for children's own writing. Elements of good writing may be analyzed as children discuss characterization in the story or the style of a particular author. Children may learn about different forms of literature before they attempt to create their own. What constitutes a fable? How does historical fiction differ from biography? What is the form of haiku verse? Finally, literature may serve as a springboard for other creative language activities of children. Books may be interpreted through creative dramatics; poetry may be presented in choral speaking; frequently stories and poems are the source for children's creative writing. Having heard the story of *Pippi Longstocking*,[1] for example, one second-grader wrote a story describing the kind of birthday party Pippi might have given.

These then are some of the ways in which literature may contribute to children's language development:

- it increases children's vocabularies
- it develops sensitivity to language
- it provides a model for their own writing skills
- it serves as a springboard for their creative activities.

Let us see how literature functions in each of these roles.

Literature Increases Vocabulary

Youngsters of two and three are preoccupied with the development of their language skills. They love to try out new words, to chant them in their play, to repeat them over and over again. Very quickly the young child learns that books can add to his delight in the sound of words and he is apt to approach any relative who has an ample lap and an infinite amount of patience with the irresistible request to "read me a story." His first books are frequently alphabet books or counting books in which he points to the pictures and names what is in them. Instead of "A is for apple," the child today may have a *Space Alphabet Book*[2] in which he learns such words as "astronaut," "galaxy" and "satellite." Later the child enjoys stories that contain simple plots like *Blueberries for Sal*[3] and *Millions of Cats.*[4] As he hears these stories over and over again he adds to his vocabulary; and as his vocabulary increases he can comprehend more complex stories.

Literature Develops Language Sensitivity

Continued exposure to the best in children's literature should increase and refine children's sensitivity to language. As primary teachers share fine books with their classes, they may find particularly rich expressions which they will want to savor and reread to their groups. In *A Fresh Look at Night*[5] Jeanne Bendick presents various night scenes in lovely descriptive language a child would understand:

> A city full of lights and windows is like frozen fireworks on the Fourth of July.

or:

> Rainy nights are like silk and satin. Snowy nights are like feathers and fur.

Children's delight in a fog-shrouded day has been captured by Alvin Tresselt in his book *Hide and Seek Fog.*[6] Delicious sounding words and vivid imagery characterize the writing:

> The children played hide and seek in and out among the gray wrapped rocks. They spoddled in the lazy lapping waves of the beach, and they got lost—right in front of their own cottages.

Older children may be encouraged to look for well-chosen words and vivid descriptions in their favorite books. The beautiful, quiet story of *Miracles on Maple Hill*[7] contains many such descriptive phrases. In a lovely passage Marly ponders the multiplicity of feelings that can be produced by one sight or sound:

> How so many things could be in a few words was something else Marly didn't know. But it was the same way the whole feel of school can be in the sound of a bell ringing. Or the way the whole feeling of spring can be in one robin on a fence post. (p. 4)

A beginning appreciation for metaphorical language may be developed through children's literature. In *Something Special*[8] the author characterizes a feather as "a letter from a bird." Children may discover humor as expressed in figures of speech, such as in *Gone-Away Lake* in which Elizabeth Enright describes the interior of a Victorian living room as: "A large herd of furniture grazed on a red carpet." (p. 38)

Following the reading of Eve Merriam's poem "Cliche" in *It Doesn't Always Have To Rhyme,*[10] one fourth-grade group had an interesting discussion on tired and trite figures of speech. The children then tried to write some fresh, original similes. The results of their efforts follow:*

As slow as a moving glacier (*Julie*)
As slow as a hatching egg (*Scott*)
As slow as a six-week spelling test (*Mike L.*)

As lonely as an ant in orbit (*Mike S.*)
As lonely as a shoe without a foot in it (*Ellen*)
As lonely as an empty room in a dark house (*George*)

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* By permission of Miss Jane Brady, Fourth-Grade Teacher, Wickliffe School, Upper Arlington, Ohio.

Literature Provides a Model

Children can't write or tell stories until they know what stories are. By hearing and reading many excellent stories children may be guided gradually to develop an understanding and feeling for the elements that compose a good story or book. By calling attention to unusual beginnings of stories a teacher may help children realize that there is a variety of ways that an author can start a story. Did the author begin with a description, conversation or action? Or did he start with an old fairy-tale beginning for a modern fanciful story as Agnes Smith did in her moving and beautiful allegory, *An Edge of the Forest:*[11]

> Once upon a time, during the early days of summer, in an edge of the young woods near the grasslands, a leopardess was lying in a patch of pale sunlight, watching her three kittens play. Her golden eyes were half closed. Dry brown leaves were beneath her. The lemon-colored sun was above her. (p. 11)

We need to ask children how the author revealed his characters. Did he portray them through their action, their conversation with others, or show others' opinions about them? Were the characters real and lifelike showing many aspects of their personality, or were they mere representations of good and evil as they are in fairy tales? What was the structure of the story; the sequence of events? Where was the high point of climax? Was the ending predictable, a natural outgrowth of the character's actions? As children discover answers to these questions they become more proficient in writing and telling their own stories.

Children also need guidance in identifying the form of a story and applying criteria of evaluation appropriate to the genre of literature represented. Is this an old tale with its magical repetition of three? Perhaps it is a modern fanciful story. How did the author create his make-believe world? Did he make a land of little people, give the power of speech to animals, or enable his hero to go backward into time or forward? Once he decided on his particular brand of make-believe, how did he make it seem credible to his reader? Once children understand the form of a particular kind of literature they can create their own. One sixth-grade class studied fables and then proceeded to write their own versions.

Literature Serves as a Springboard for Creative Activities

Literature may serve as the source for children's own writing. Children cannot create out of a vacuum; they need to be motivated to tell or write original stories. Frequently a child will finish a book and say, "Oh, I wish it didn't have to end." The alert teacher will say, "Well, you know it doesn't really have to end. Why don't you write a sequel to *Mr. Popper's Penguins,*[12] *Homer Price*[13] or *Winnie the Pooh?*[14] Children also may be inspired to write a creative story utilizing a theme from a well-known story such as Kipling's *Just So Stories.*[15] Following the structure of the story, "How the Elephant's Child Got His Trunk," an American child might write, "How the Porcupine Got Its Quills" or "Why the Bird of Paradise Became Extinct in Hawaii." A new and highly amusing book is entitled *Someday*[16] and includes such unlikely wishes as the following:

> SOMEDAY, I'm going to be practicing the piano and the lady across the street will call and say, "Please play that beautiful piece again!"

All children would enjoy making a list of their own improbable longings!

Students may re-interpret literature by imagining themselves to be reporters and giving "on-the-spot" news coverage to events that have occurred in their books. A headline heralds the arrival of a singing cricket in a news report of *The Cricket in Times Square*;[17] the society column carries the announcement of Cinderella's engagement and a report of Eeyore's birthday party. Even the death of Charlotte[18] the spider is faithfully recorded in the obituary column.

These then are just a few of the ways in which literature may motivate and stimulate the language development of children. A language program that does not draw heavily upon the rich resource of children's literature will be stunted and impoverished.

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The Strange Case of the New Mathematics

Introduction (letter from the Editor to Robert B. Davis, Director of the Curriculum Laboratory, The University of Illinois, Urbana):

What has been the aftermath of ten years of the new math? We are hearing this question being voiced with increased vehemence from many quarters today. A recent book, Why Johnny Can't Add: The Failure of the New Math *(by Morris Kline; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), has lent fuel to the critics, in the classroom as well as out, who claim evidence to show that children know less about simple computational skills today than was the case in the past.*

As an elementary educator in the early post-sputnik days, I remember being caught up with the promise voiced by proponents of "modern math" that a new era of enlightenment was about to descend upon us and our children, bringing deepened understanding as well as enthusiasm to replace traditional rote-learning procedures. Now, ten years later, I look at my own sons and wonder aloud with the critics I once would have deemed reactionary: do my boys compute better? Do they understand *more the why of what they do? Do they* enjoy *their math classes more than children did before? My honest answer would have to be that despite their attractive-looking texts and impressive-sounding vocabularly two out of my three sons seem more turned away from math than toward it. Why? What went wrong? If confusion seems rampant not just among parents and children but even among teachers, should we throw out the new books and go back to the good old days of mass memorization and right answers? This is a plaintive call for help. What can we do about revivifying the Third of the Three Rs?*

Letter to the Editor by Robert B. Davis:

YOUR STATEMENT provokes a good many responses. For one thing, school mathematics is not the only area of American life where we wish we could recapture the optimistic mood of the early 60s. But you are surely right: in the early days of the 60s, "new math" was a very hopeful thing—*and it deserved to be.* David Page and many others were showing that children can be very clever, really very clever indeed, and that they can *enjoy* doing excellent work in very genuine "grownup" mathematics. One "new math" project[1] demonstrated that, with the proper elementary school program, children could get to *calculus* by grade 8 or 9. Several other projects got similar results.

The point of this was not so much calculus, though that is in fact a wonderful creation of the human mind. What was more important was the Sylvia Ashton-Warner[2] kind of spirit about it all. Mathematics was not being experienced as grim and dull; it was *fun* and *exciting.* (If 1974 readers find this hard to believe, they can see for themselves: many early "new math" classroom lessons have been recorded on film and on videotape. It really *was* "fun" and "exciting.") Teachers spoke of the importance of the light touch—experience with math should not be burdensome. Some tasks were very *hard,* but "hard" isn't *bad.* On the contrary, the children's realization that they were thinking through difficult intellectual problems made for more of a *challenge*—just as climbing a *big* tree can be more exciting and more rewarding than climbing a *little* tree. If the problems had been "easy," it would *not* have been "fun."

We really do need to ask ourselves why this seemingly excellent venture has "failed." I think the answer to that question is important for all of us who care about schools and children. I don't hope to settle the matter in one short article—a lot of us need to work on trying to understand what went wrong. The problem is really an inquiry into children, schools, and the expectations of adult society; and I suspect that the answers—if we ever get them—will prove valuable.

SEVEN POINTS

To get us started on the quest, I think seven remarks are in order (and I regret that your children, like my own, were not the beneficiaries of the best of this work).

1. *The failure of the old math.* In the first place, the "old" math was a failure. This fact has been documented in many ways, although it does ***not*** always show up on standardized tests ("Why not?" is an interesting question!). Perhaps the best documentation is being collected by Jack Easley, Jr., Stanley Erlwanger, Cecily Resnick, and Edna Albert, at the University of Illinois. Their technique[3] is to use face-to-face interviews to watch children solve various mathematical problems, and to ask the children why or how they are doing it. Careful rapport is built up between interviewer and child, and often the same child is studied for many interviews; consequently, children's performances are realistic indicators of how they really think about mathematics. The Easley-Erlwanger group have a very large amount of data from their interviewing; the persistent theme is that the vast majority of children in *traditional* math programs view mathematics as a matter of memorizing rules for manipulating meaningless symbols. Literally hundreds of examples can be extracted from their interviews. Perhaps my favorite is a fifth-grade girl who, confronted with

$\boxed{.3 + .4 =}$,

wrote $\boxed{.3 + .4 = .7}$;

for $\boxed{3. + 4. =}$,

she wrote $\boxed{3. + 4. = 7.}$;

but for $\boxed{.3 + 4. =}$,

she wrote $\boxed{.3 + 4. = .7}$.

It turned out that where adults might see decimal points, and fractions like seven tenths, this girl saw only meaningless little dots, and she played a guessing game to try to put the dots in the correct place—or places. Of course, the symbol

$$\boxed{.7.}$$

had no meaning for her; she could not have said whether it was bigger than six, or smaller than one. But that didn't bother her, especially; most of the symbols and procedures of mathematics were meaningless for her. And she was a student in "traditional" mathematics!

Moreover, as the Erlwanger interviews show depressingly clearly, she was typical. The "old" math was a failure. (Try asking some friend—not a teacher—to explain what

$$\boxed{1/3 \;:\; 1/2}$$

means. Not what the "answer" is, but what the question *means.*)

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[1] R. B. Davis, *Experimental Course Report/Grade Nine* (Report No. 1, June 1964). Published by the Madison Project.

[2] Indeed, I think the *creativity of children* was so central a theme that I have long considered that the best description of the early "new math" is really given in two books about the teaching of *poetry*: Hughes Mearns, *Creative Power*, Dover Publications, 1958; and Herbert Kohl, *Teaching the Unteachable*, The New York Review, 1967. You have to translate from "poetry" to "math," but the tone of the teaching is exactly right.

[3] Cf. S. H. Erlwanger, "Benny's Conception of Rules and Answers in IPI Mathematics," *The Journal of Children's Mathematical Behavior* 1, 2 (Autumn 1973): 7-26.

2. *There is no such thing as "new math."* If one looks at David Page's so-called "Illinois Arithmetic Project," and at S.M.S.G., and at the British Nuffield Mathematics Project, and at Beberman's Washington School Project, and at Caleb Gattegno's Cuisenaire rods approach, and at the Madison Project, and at a few other "new math" programs, one thing becomes very clear: these projects were very different from one another. To lump them all together, and to call them, collectively, "new mathematics," is to sow the seeds of profound confusion—or to reveal a blindness to important distinctions. To mention just two: some of these programs used manipulatable physical materials very extensively, whereas others never did. Some of these projects focused on preparing textbooks, trying to reach children that way; whereas others among them considered textbooks to be a hopeless route to children and so prepared little or nothing in the way of student textbooks, focusing instead on teacher education (or books for teachers) as the only effective route to change.

3. *Neither "old" nor "new" math really failed.* We are talking about the United States, a nation of one and a half million teachers and, maybe, one and a half million different educational programs—some "old," some "new," and some a mixture of both. The data do seem to show that, in general, the "new math has failed." Nevertheless, I know, and most readers probably know, that *some* "old" programs *succeeded very well*, and so did *some* "new" ones. In particular, and most important, a careful evaluation of "new math" programs in California[4] shows unmistakably that, for *some* of the "new math" projects *that emphasized the role of the teacher and that focused on teacher education*, "pupils of teachers [who had had certain kinds of special training] performed significantly higher in both comprehension and computation." The programs that focused on reaching the child via the textbook, on the contrary, have tended to show declines in student performance. So much for the so-called teacher-proof materials!

4. *The natural forms of children's thinking.* Children think naturally in certain ways—and in these ways they can be very clever. Children do NOT think naturally in certain other ways—and in these other ways, children can seem very obtuse. "New math" has tended to succeed where it has built on the natural ways that children do think; it has tended to fail where it has ignored the character of children's cognition. The metaphor of the sculptor carving a beautiful piece of wood suggests itself. There is an internal "grain" to children's thinking, and one cannot afford to ignore it.

Consider the case of geometry: children easily count to 5 or so; that is the essence of Cartesian analytic geometry, and where this version of geometry is well presented to children they work with it creatively, powerfully and with enjoyment. On the other hand, although adult mathematicians reason from precise definitions by careful deductive logic, *children do not;* where the geometry program uses this approach, and involves complex language that sounds more like lawyer-talk than child-talk, children do not make much progress.

Recently, Seymour Papert at MIT has gone even further. He has made a really child-centered approach to geometry. To define "angle," he has a mechanical turtle that moves around on the floor under the control of a computer. Children can make the turtle move as they wish by typing commands on an electric typewriter that is connected to the computer. If you type

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RIGHT 90
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[4] Ruth Pritchard, "Is the New Math Failing?" *Scholastic Teacher*, Oct. 1973, pp. 20-23.

the turtle does a "right face" turn through 90°. Children can get down on the floor and go through the same motions the mechanical turtle does. The children in Papert's program have no trouble at all with the concept of angle. This geometry is literally one that incorporates experiences like crawling around on the floor.

Contrast this with one of the "wordy" versions of "new math," which defines an angle as "a figure formed by two rays having a common end-point." Which approach respects the "graininess" of children's cognition?

5. *Some activities are appropriate for children, and some aren't.* Here you have to be careful. Arguing about mathematics *is* natural for children, provided they care about the topic under discussion. Giving the turtle orders is natural for children—as you can see at once by watching the children do it. But memorizing a large body of material by rote is NOT natural to children—even though it makes up the bulk of most school math programs, both "old" and "new." Many children *can* memorize by rote, but it is not a natural kind of activity. It is NOT how they learn to talk, to walk, to play games, etc.

6. *The oppressive burden of becoming a human calculator.* Let's face it! The spectre that haunts elementary school mathematics is the common assumption that the program *should* consist of drill in adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing. The best of the "new math" programs tried to challenge this drill approach. For the most part they failed, because they could not get teachers and parents to understand what they were trying to do.

Like every aspect of the "failure of the new math," this question is complex and should not be oversimplified. Certainly, skill in arithmetic computation is something a child can be proud of, which we cannot dismiss lightly. Under the right circumstances children even enjoy it. And a few adults—a *very* few—make important use of computational skill in their work. But, increasingly, computation is becoming something done by machines, not by human beings. Despite the power shortage, this trend will continue. (Consider the historical development of writing; how many adults now make their living as scribes?)

And—what is very important—the rote drill to learn computational skills can be a heavy burden on a child's soul. It can drive him away, not merely from mathematics, but from everything scholarly or academic or intellectual. Our vicious overemphasis on computing can be a bad bargain for many children. We must go through an agonizing reappraisal of our expectations in this area.

7. *Who succeeds, anyhow?* If some math programs succeed, why doesn't their success spread? This question may be the most important of all. Incredibly, the United States, which has perfected market mechanisms that give people unprecedented freedom in choosing jobs and in choosing what to buy in the lines of homes, autos or toothbrushes, *has provided no way for ANYBODY to exercise choice in K-12 education* (well, hardly anybody). Not children, not parents, not teachers, not superintendents of schools—actually, not even textbook authors, who are locked into conventional expectations at least as much as the rest of us.

But if there is no choice mechanism, how can there be progress?

And there isn't . . . much.

Maybe we can change all that . . . which, I believe, begins to get us closer to the real story behind the "failure" of the new mathematics curricula.

Using the Micro as a Weapon

Fighting Against Convergent Thinking

Sherwin A. Steffin

PUBLIC SCHOOLS have long been expected to achieve an objective for which instructional strategies are not yet developed or implemented. From the community's perspective, they should foster and develop learners' abilities to engage in *divergent* thinking, termed "critical thinking skills," "problem-solving ability" or "the development of creativity" in the district curriculum summary. Often these demands are in tautological form, however, making operational analysis a difficult, if not impossible, task.

This article will characterize some critical aspects of divergent and convergent thinking, examine some attributes of the public school environment apparently fostering convergent thinking and address the microcomputer's potential as an instrument for fostering divergent cognitive styles.

Comparison of Convergent and Divergent Styles

Early on the primary-aged child enters an educational environment which impresses two basic constructs. First, the child learns that cognition problems have only one correct solution set. The truth of this assertion may be measured against the kinds of behavioral tasks expected of the learner. "What is the sum of 7 + 9?" "Write the correct spelling for . . ." "Fill in the blank to answer this question: __________ is the capital of Michigan." These measurable behaviors, easily identifiable as "correct" or "incorrect," impose a binary, Aristotelian view of the world. While the tasks themselves may be trivial, involving recall or recognition memory, the implications are not.

Children quickly learn to shape their problem-solving processes in the direction of finding an "approved" response by the most expedient route possible. This process effectively forestalls seeking either alternative routes to a response or alternative responses. In fact, alternative responses are rejected as being aversive, nonproductive contingencies for the learner.

Convergent thinking approaches may be characterized as follows: (1) the set of "correct" responses contains one element; (2) the set of "correct" responses derives from the specific subject addressed; and (3) the solution set most frequently demands recall or recognition memory as the primary cognitive process employed.

In many schools, even those curricula that seemingly lack definitive "correct" response patterns subject the learner to such shaping. This kind of shaping occurs, for instance, in art and music: a learner's early attempts at color, form, sonority and design mastery are either thwarted or reinforced according to the instructor's view of how closely the work approximates the targeted product.

Conversely, divergent approaches to intellectual tasks imply the exact opposite of the process described above. Divergent problem-solving assignments have these attributes in common: (1) the set of "correct" responses to the presented task always has more than one element; (2) the set of "correct" responses is a function of a set of criteria differentiating it from the set of "not correct" responses; (3) it is possible to state these criteria in clear, unambiguous operational terms so that consensus may be arrived at among multiple

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evaluators of the learner's response; (4) the solution set will almost always demand application skills from the learner. This involves the applying of rules to facts and concepts, rather than memory alone.

Convergent problem solution tends to be digital and thus discreet in form; conversely, divergent thinking tends to be analog and continuous in form.

It would thus appear that learners need to apply both convergent and divergent cognitive tools in their armamentarium of problem-solving abilities. The convergent tools work exceedingly well in providing a large data base of facts and concepts learners can apply to problems. Yet, if learners lack divergent skills, such data bases are only unprocessed raw materials in forms not well-suited for incisive and efficient attack upon new challenges.

The Convergent Climate of the Public School

There are two dimensions of the public school encouraging student acquisition of convergent attack skills: the nature of assignments to the school and the intra-school environment. Public school graduates are expected to: (1) demonstrate basic competency with spoken and written communication, and with the manipulation of arithmetic and mathematic tools; (2) function comfortably within socially acceptable behavioral limits; and (3) apply core skills to either further learning in various post-secondary settings, or address them to day-to-day problems of work and leisure. Many educational professionals within the school setting regard such mandates as formidable, challenging and often elusive of achievement.

These mandates are embedded in a national climate that is, ironically, at best neutral to public education, and often adversarial. Consequently, a professional educator's job within the public school is demanding, and often detrimental to self-esteem. Teacher evaluation, whether explicitly stated or informally implied, is clearly contingent upon someone's evaluation of the adequacy of a given classroom environment. Critical attributes include behavior of students within the classroom (conforming both to formal and informal criteria established by the school administration); an absence of complaints by students directed at the individual classroom teacher; and an absence of controversy with respect to reports made by students to their parents relative to the classroom environment and its contents. Whether explicitly stated or not, "cage and control" must of necessity be perceived by the classroom teacher as the first commandment for professional survival. A corollary to this is controversial subject matter must be avoided wherever possible. Moreover, any learner's initiative for discovery of new solutions or new approaches risks appearing disruptive and is therefore automatically resisted.

In addition to the techniques and attitudes conveyed by the teacher, there is the spectre of influence exerted by the learner's peer culture. In many instances, those learners who seek alternative cognitive styles or demonstrate nonconforming responses to problems presented suffer aversive comments and alienation from their peers. Unique or different approaches thus become extremely dangerous from the perspective of social acceptance.

Totally exclusive of the classroom teacher and the learners, an additional factor severely mitigates the development of alternative approaches to intellectual tasks—the primary media employed for instruction within the typical classroom: print. Working with a textbook, a worksheet disseminated by the teacher or various types of supplementary materials, learners respond in written form. Responses are then compared with acceptable or model responses. The learners' feedback is long delayed, requiring them either to check against answer keys provided at some other point in the book, or wait for feedback from an instructor at some indeterminate future time. While multiple answers to a given problem may be provided, their number is finite and learners quickly adapt to finding a single correct answer to a question or problem. Most important, learners learn the questionable truism that information is unchanging. Each time they return to a given portion of a text, the stimulus presented in the text is identical to what it was the last time. It seems reasonable to posit that a static presentation of information leads to a static view of information in the perceiver.

While other instructional modalities are employed in the classroom, repetition of use presents the learner with the same fundamental precept of information whether it derives from text, filmstrips, audio tapes, motion pictures or video cassettes. These all have in common the attribute that presented information is precisely the same as in previous presentations. Each of these factors contributes to the learner's set that there is only one class or set of "correct" responses to any intellectual situation.

A Silicon Yankee in King Guttenberg's Court

In the 1960s and 1970s, federal infusion of monies into the public schools brought a variety of technologies to the classroom. Programmed learning machines, classroom response devices, compressed speech and instructional television were each expected to make significant impact upon the way students would gain competency and achieve mastery of learning. The claim to fame of each of these modalities was short-lived. None reached the potential ascribed to it and resulting cynicism about technology has fostered attitudinal Ludditeism in the American teacher and administrator. The consequence of this disenchantment with technology is that new efforts in technology innovation are often met with attitudes ranging from "show me . . . I'm from Missouri" to outright antagonism.

Now there is a new medium for instruction: the microcomputer offers real promise for significant change and improvement in the classroom.

What are the characteristics of the computer that discriminate it from other media? Six separate characteristics are examined below, each of which alone can be a powerful influencer of human learning. Taken together, in comprising an instructional environment, their impacts upon the learning situation will be powerful and sustaining.

The computer's capability for generating random numbers and for differentially responding to various user entries gives it the capability to construct each new problem as a unique entity. Certainly it will not be a function of place within the sequence, nor will the specific problem be predictable from previous problems. Returning to the computer at another time means the learner gets a fresh sequence of problems to address. Assuming well-crafted software, there is a capability inherent in the designer/hardware/software/learner interface to avoid a learner's perception of static, unchanging information. As software moves from drill and practice, through tutorial experience, to high level simulations, the flexible and changing nature of the stimulus material presented tends to become more fluid and more challenging to the learner. The net effect of this is to remove the learner's dependence upon rote memory ("What was the answer I gave to this problem last time?") and move to algorithmic derivations for generalized problem solution ("What rule is going to cover this general case?").

The second characteristic unique to the computer is that of human/machine interaction. The computer and its software require constant interaction between learners and the presentation of information, questions or problems. Unlike any other medium, learners are forced to take an active part in the management of their own learning. Learners can no longer be passive recipients of information presented. Rather, rapid reaction, response and participation are demanded by the information exchange environment. If appropriate to the situation, the computer may make adjustments to the time between information presentation and learners' responses; learners may be prevented from perceiving their incorrect responses; and sequencing may be dynamically tailored to each learner's strengths and weaknesses. All kinds of interaction patterns are available to sophisticated designers of instruction, yet even the most trivial interactions can be made to require a level of activity by the learner heretofore unseen in other media.

In the normal course of classroom events, feedback to the learner may be delayed from minutes to weeks. The feedback can often be subjective, norm-referenced and widely variant in the reinforcement provided among learners. The computer has the capability of immediately (ranging from milliseconds to seconds) providing the learner with feedback about the appropriateness of responses, and the sequence of instruction that should logically follow. Moreover, specific, tangible reinforcement is easily imposed within the programming. This capability of immediate feedback and reinforcement serves to motivate and to eliminate frustration. From a behavioral science perspective, the more proximate the reinforcement and confirmation, the greater the shaping of any individual trial for the learner.

The use of graphics, in multicolor and animation modes, is common to a number of visual media. None of these, however, places the form, color or position of the graphic under the learner's control. Properly programmed, the computer gives the learner the opportunity to use visual and graphic symbols as an equally interactive medium of information exchange, reinforcing the verbal (textual) channels already open. Giving the learner this facility provides alternatives for perceiving and processing the flow of information. As the number of channels of information increases, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that learners will correspondingly make more fluid their associative and combinative sets.

No teacher, no matter how patient and concerned, will fail to experience frustration, anger or impatience with students. When that impatience or frustration is expressed nonverbally, the effects on young students may be even more devastating than verbal sarcasm or a raised voice. The computer, lacking the attributes of human emotion, is infinitely patient with learners. (This presumes it has not been programmed otherwise.) For the learner anxious about teacher approval or peer perception of teacher response, the computer offers an opportunity to build self-confidence provided by few other media. Given this, the instruction designer has complete control over the neutrality of the computer. The designer may make it a friend, a neutral communications medium or even a punitive teacher, as appropriate. Whatever the choice, the software designer has an opportunity to control and structure the learning experience that is greater than that any human teacher can hope to achieve in a classroom environment. This makes the computer a tremendous ally and tool for the teacher.

Finally, one other feature of the computer makes it especially attractive to young learners. Adults and children alike value their privacy, but in a typical classroom there is no privacy. The behavior of each student is monitored, reviewed, tested, shaped and controlled both by teacher and peers. Everything the student says or does in the classroom environment can become the object of others' scrutiny. The computer, conversely, offers the learner an opportunity for almost total privacy. It can store and respond to the learner's innermost thoughts, feelings and behaviors; it is nonjudgmental; and, most of all, it is private. (The caveat should be added here that indeed it is not quite so private as the previous statements might indicate. After all, the learner's responses may be recorded for review and inspection later by the teacher. From the perspective of the learner in dialogue with the computer, however, absolute privacy is assured.)

The above indicates, then, that the computer is a device with great potential for freeing the creative, divergent and unique in each learner using it.

Summary

Factors influencing learners to convergent thinking styles have been analyzed above. The impact of public school objectives, the classroom environment and the traditional media have all been identified as contributing to convergence in thinking. The computer has been identified through its attributes of interactivity, immediate feedback, variability in presentation, neutrality of response and privacy as an instructional tool that offers hope in fostering divergent thinking.

Things the Teachers Did Not Say

Connie Hall Stockard

She was five years old. Her name was Jackie. Her mother and dad drove her to her new school. They had told her how much she would learn and about all the new friends she would make. She was excited. Her long brown hair was shiny and had a big red bow in the back. Her dress was polka-dot and had tiny strawberries on the collar. Jackie looked beautiful.

She stepped into her new room in her new white sandals that were a little bit stiff. She could feel a tiny bit of pain in her right big toe. But she knew that it would go away soon.

Her teacher was pretty. She smiled a lot. Jackie liked the way she moved around the room while the kids cut out pictures of fall leaves. She told them to put their names at the top of their leaves if they knew how. Jackie knew how.

When the leaves were all cut out the teacher took them to her desk. She told the children to *color* some other pictures of leaves she had given them.

Jackie had learned how to cut out at home. She could cut out without touching the inside edges of the picture. She colored well, too, and did not bear down too hard. Her dad had taught her to make her name. Not everyone in the class knew how.

JAƆKIƎ

Jackie loved her first day. When she went home, she told her brother and her mom and dad how much she loved kindergarten. Her mother even let her dial her grandmother's number and tell her about her first day at school.

That night the teacher looked at all the leaves. Jackie's were almost the best. The cut-out one was cut out smoothly, and the colored one was red and green.

The teacher noticed how well Jackie had done her work, and she smiled. She looked at Jackie's name on her leaves. She took a red pencil and wrote

Jackie

When Jackie came to school the next day, she brought her teacher a rose from her backyard fence. The stem was not very long, but it was a pretty rose that smelled like perfume. It was deep red and felt like a velvet dress.

Jackie's leaves were on her desk. All the other leaves were on the other students' desks too. Some of them, most of them, had red pencil marks on them.

The teacher went to the board and wrote *Jackie* in big, perfect letters. She also wrote

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Andy. Then she said, "Jackie and Andy, I want you to practice writing your names."

Jackie looked at the smooth lines where she had cut out her leaf. She looked at the careful coloring on her other leaf. She looked at her friend's leaf. Her friend's name was Jennifer, and she had cut one of the tips off her leaf. The boy on the other side had colored his leaf only half-way. It didn't look pretty. Jackie didn't remember his name. Jackie didn't know why he and Jennifer did not have red pencil marks on their papers.

When Jackie was in the 1st grade, she had a short teacher who was a lot like Jackie's mother. She smelled like the honeysuckle that bloomed in the spring on the back fence with the red climbing roses. She had short fingers and played the piano in the school programs.

The teacher's name was Mrs. Hearsh. Jackie liked her. Mrs. Hearsh asked the students to make their numbers across the top of their page one day. Jackie knew how to make *all* her numbers. She carefully wrote down her name and her numbers.

Jackie was very proud to know how to make her name with one capital letter and the rest lower-case letters. Her mother had taught her to make her numbers before she started to kindergarten. But she got a lot of red marks on her pages in kindergarten. She tried hard, but she never knew why the teacher was not proud that she had learned so much before she started to school. She learned early that red marks meant, ". . . Not a good job . . . ."

Jennifer had not even known how to make her name. And when she learned, she still couldn't cut out or color well. Andy learned to make his name, but he spread it out all over the top of his paper and did not even write on the line. He couldn't color very well at all. But neither one of them ever seemed to get red marks.

When Mrs. Hearsh, the 1st-grade teacher, looked at Jackie's page after school, she smiled. ("For once, someone can make all the numbers!" she thought.) She took her red pencil out and wrote 3 over Jackie's Ɛ, 5 over Jackie's Ƨ, 12 over Jackie's 1ƨ . . . and handed it back to Jackie the next day.

Jackie was very sad. Some of the kids didn't know their numbers at all! Some of them could only make numbers up to five, 1 2 3 4 5, and they got a smiley face on their pages.

Jackie hated red.

In the 4th grade, Jackie was wearing her hair in long brown pony-tails on each side. She had blue pony-tail holders. Her hair was shiny and smelled like sunshine.

One day, when the kids were writing stories, Jackie wrote a long mystery. Her story told of an old house that was run-down and deserted. (Jackie was picturing in her mind a house on her grandfather's farm.) She made up a story about a treasure that someone had buried behind the house. She told what was inside the old trunk under the ground, beside the chicken coop. She wrote and wrote. She described all the people in the story and how each one of them had, at one time, been out by the chicken coop. She left the mystery of the missing trunk, with wonderful treasures in it, unsolved. She had noticed that on TV they sometimes left the story ending to the imagination of the viewer. She put conversations in quotations as if the characters were really talking! She wrote very neatly and worked very hard on her story description.

Jackie got her paper back the next day. There were red pencil marks all over it. A lot of the words were not spelled right. On the way out of the room, she wadded up the story and dropped it into the wastebasket under the pencil sharpener. Mrs. Andrews said, "Jackie, why did you do that? You have to learn to spell the words you missed before tomorrow!" Jackie dug out her story and took it home where she threw it away.

The next day Jackie had to go talk to the principal because Mrs. Andrews asked her where her paper was and Jackie told her she had thrown it away. When she asked her why, Jackie would not answer.

The principal, Mr. Slew, asked her the same question and Jackie would not answer. She thought inside her mind that she didn't care what they did to her. She finally *told* him she didn't care and that she *hated* school.

Mr. Slew told Mrs. Andrews and Jackie that Jackie had a very bad attitude. Jackie went back to her room and had to make up another story. This time she didn't write anything and told the teacher she was not going to.

In the teacher's lounge, Mrs. Andrews told Miss Loftis, the math teacher, that she didn't understand Jackie. "She's really a bright and talented child . . . so creative. But she is a little lazy and doesn't have a good attitude at all."

Soon Jackie's mother and dad were asked to come to school to talk to the teacher and to Mr. Slew. That night Jackie's parents told Jackie that she could not play or watch TV until she improved her schoolwork. Also, in the cafeteria, she had kicked Jennifer for no reason, and she got a spanking from her dad for that.

In the 6th grade, Jackie felt really old. She had some shoes with heels on them and a cute boyfriend named James. She didn't care that Jennifer made A's or that her own grades were bad. She only cared about having fun after school. When the teacher *made* her do work, she did it as fast as she could and didn't think hard or try to make it as special as possible. ("It won't be right anyway," she thought. "I can never please them.")

Jackie sometimes sat in the backyard at night and counted the stars. She made up soft songs in her mind about white honeysuckle with sweet, dripping, love potion oozing out their stems for hummingbirds and bees. She traced petals of iris in the dirt with a tiny stick and sometimes drew beautiful scissortails on paper, which she threw away. She had watched scissortails swoop down, diving at her puppy when he played under the tree that housed their babies. She knew every line and detail of the scissortails' bodies and wings.

On Valentine's Day, she wrote a love poem to her boyfriend and one to her dad. She painted hearts on them in thin washes of yellow watercolor, outlining them in thin green and aqua lines like veins in a leaf. But she wadded them up and threw them away. ("Nobody likes my words or my pictures," she thought, "and besides, Valentines should be red—and I hate red!")

The Legal Rights of Children

An eminent child advocate explores the child's rights under the law— in the courts, in the schools, in the home.

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—*Bob Peterson. Courtesy of Girl Scouts of USA.*

Monrad G. Paulsen

Do CHILDREN have legal rights? Of course they do and always have. The point to be emphasized is that the legal and constitutional rights of children have been expanded in recent years. The trend is continuing.

It is true that under the English Common Law, which America inherited, children's legal rights were relatively few. The affairs of children were under the control of adults. Nevertheless, the English law under power *Parens Patriae,* did protect children from marauding parents and guardians who sought to misappropriate a child's inheritance or subject a youngster to a destructive, harmful life. This principle of the English law which protected children was used in the United States to relieve youngsters from criminal liability. The general English law (and before 1900 or so, the American as well) provided that children over seven were capable of committing crime. Children of nine or ten could be jailed, sent to prison and, indeed, stood in danger of the hangman.

CHILDREN'S RIGHTS IN COURT

American reformers, particularly a group in Chicago working at the turn of the century, sought to soften the impact of the criminal law on the young. They successfully pressed for legislation establishing a new court for children. This juvenile court was designed to save children from the consequences of acts that would be criminal if done by adults or that resulted from the neglect of the children's

parents. These reformers sought to vindicate a child's "right" to be protected from the state's criminal processes and from the dereliction of parents.

Juvenile courts, inspired by the desire to reform misbehaving children rather than to punish them, are now established in every state. Over time, many observers noted that youngsters were often given short shrift in juvenile court. Proceedings were very informal —not at all in conformity with the general constitutional pattern applicable to adult criminals.

The Gault Case

The constitutionality of the "informal" procedures of juvenile courts was finally tested by the Supreme Court of the United States in the 1967 opinion, *In Re Gault*, 387 U.S. 1. *Gault* laid down one great principle and three important rules. First, juvenile courts were held subject to the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Due Process standards could not be ignored simply because it might be thought a child's best interests required that constitutional fairness standards be disregarded. The opinion held that proceedings in juvenile courts "must measure up to the essentials of due process and fair treatment."

Specifically, *Gault* required (1) that a juvenile be given a right to counsel in delinquency cases; (2) that written, specific and timely notice of the charges be given the respondent; and (3) that the privilege against self-incrimination be afforded to children in delinquency cases.

Fundamentally, the *Gault* case, a decision of enormous importance, established that children have a right to a constitutional standard of fairness, which must be observed even if a constitutional infirmity in the proceeding were to have the result that the court had no power to order needed treatment. To take an example: a juvenile court must not use unconstitutionally seized evidence even though failure to use it may result in the freeing of an obviously guilty respondent.

Limitations

The *Gault* case establishes the basic principles applicable when the state seeks to exercise authority over children. Later Supreme Court cases have decided that those principles are not identical with the standards applicable to persons charged with crime. For example, a child's alleged delinquency must be proved beyond a reasonable doubt; but a youngster has no constitutional right to a jury trial. In short, a child is entitled to basic, fundamental fairness in juvenile court but not to the whole range of adult constitutional protections.

CHILDREN'S RIGHTS IN SCHOOL

Children have gained rights not only in juvenile courts, but also in schoolrooms. Many recent court decisions have protected children against unreasonable arbitrary suspension and expulsion proceedings. Some type of fair proceeding must be held and the youngster must be given a chance to answer charges that serve as the basis for serious disciplinary action.

Further, the substance of the rules themselves must conform to constitutional requirements such as freedom of speech or religion. There is, of course, no requirement that a school paper be published; but, if a paper is published, school administrators must not censor it arbitrarily. In *Breen* v. *Kahl,* 419 F.2d 1034 (Cir. 7, 1969) held that the "right to wear one's hair at any length or in any desired manner is an ingredient of personal freedom protected by the United States Constitution" and, hence, a high school dress code was held unconstitutional. The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that wearing a black arm band to high school or junior high school in protest against the war in Vietnam was constitutionally protected.

CHILDREN'S RIGHTS IN THE HOME

Children have rights against their parents as well as against the government. A child neglected by parents is entitled to protective action by a juvenile court (there were 141,000 neglect cases in court in 1972). If the neglect is serious, the child may be taken out of the home. The most serious cases may result in the termination of parental rights, thus making the child available for adoption without parental consent.

In addition, every state has an administrative agency—such as a Department of Social Welfare—either at the state or local level, which is charged with the function and duty of offering "protective services." Such services may include counseling, direct provisions of resources to a child, and protection against parents who harm their children or who are inadequate for the child-rearing task.

Parents sometimes bring a child to juvenile court because the youngster is "out of parental control," "incorrigible" or a "person in need of supervision." Some recent court decisions have upheld the child as opposed to the parent in such instances on the grounds that the parent had invoked legislation that was too vague and imprecise to meet constitutional standard of due process.

There is a tendency to recognize the choices of a child at an earlier age as compared to the past. Many states have lowered the age of majority to eighteen. Still more states have passed laws permitting children to receive medical and birth control information without parental knowledge and assent.

That the law may soon generally protect the choices of children at an earlier age is suggested by a footnote in Mr. Justice Douglas' dissenting opinion in *Wisconsin* v. *Yoder*, 92 S. ct. 1526, 46 (1972). *Yoder* was a case upholding the right of Amish farmers to decline on religious grounds to send their children to high school. The Douglas dissent was based on the position that the farmers did have a right to keep their children home, *but* not if the children *wished* to go to school. The Justice argued, "It is the student's judgment, not his parents', that is essential if we are to give full meaning to what we have said about the Bill of Rights and of the right of students to be masters of their own destiny." In footnote three of his opinion, the Justice writes an arresting sentence: "Moreover, there is substantial agreement among child psychologists and sociologists that the moral and intellectual maturity of the fourteen-year-old approaches that of the adult." This suggestion of Justice Douglas could cause a great erosion of parental authority insofar as that authority is buttressed up by the law. Presumably, he would permit a fourteen- or fifteen-year-old to refuse parental guidance and go his own way.

SUMMARY

To sum up: children today enjoy a greatly expanded area of legal rights in the juvenile courts, and they may stand at the beginning of a movement that will recognize young people as full legal persons at an earlier age than ever before in our history.

Understanding the Black Child

This sober, straightforward call for us to practice our preachments emphasizes the need to understand children's life styles and build on their positives, cutting through the shibboleths of condescension. Away with pseudoscientific theories about why children cannot learn, forward with the meaningful teaching that makes learning possible!

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DOXEY A. WILKERSON

FELLOW TEACHERS, let us dodge no more! We need straight talk about the education of black children in the public schools. The academic problems commonly associated with Negro pupils in the school are largely problems *of* the school, and we in the profession of education would do well to assess our own responsibility for aggravating them. In the process, we will have to free ourselves of prevailing stereotypes that tend to obscure reality and come to understand that black children—like all other children—are wondrously varied human beings, with developmental potential far greater than our schools help them to realize.

The school problems to which I refer include: serious academic retardation, apparent lack of motivation to learn what the school offers, tendencies toward classroom disruption and truancy, and early withdrawal when the "school-leaving-age" of sixteen is reached. These problems are neither characteristic of all black pupils nor of all their schools but are commonplace in schools serving poverty populations in the black ghettos of most cities.

Why is this so? What should it mean to those of us who man the schools?

Exploded Myths

Most teachers of Negro children, including many black teachers, have little or no direct experiences with the homes and neighborhoods from which their pupils come. Their perceptions of black children are based mainly on relations with them in the artificial environment of the school, and even these are filtered through the preconceptions that inhere in our racially structured culture. The predictable result is distorted interpretation of pupils' behavior, which in turn tends to influence negatively the professional performance of teachers and the academic performance of their pupils. Moreover, the prevailing rationalizations of the vast new literature on "the disadvantaged child" strongly reinforce such distortions and negative performances.

Thus, we hear from teachers— and read over and over in the literature—that impoverished black parents are not interested in the education of their children and do not encourage them to succeed in school. Such parents can assuredly be found among all races and social strata, but not nearly so many as is often assumed. Indeed, systematic studies such as those of Cloward and Jones have found that the aspirations of poor parents for their children are strikingly similar to those of more affluent parents (2). And among the Negro people, from the days of slavery until right now, struggles for improving education of black children have been more widespread and sustained than those centering around any other issue. See your morning paper for confirmation.

Another common explanation of poor academic performance among black children is the "broken home," especially the absence of a "father figure." But a careful and substantial study of high-achievers and low-achievers in Harlem schools (Davidson and Greenberg, 1967) found that "the presence of a father, or other male, in the home was not related significantly to achievement status nor to any of the other differentiating psychological variables studied" (5). Further, many Negro homes are not "broken"; both parents are there. And, often in homes where this is not true, a strong black woman—usually the mother, at times the grandmother—manages somehow to develop and maintain a closely knit, affectional unit that is supportive of the children.

We are told that poor black children tend to be "nonverbal," presumably because of reticence during classroom recitations. But no one who really listens to them on the school playground, in their homes, or on neighborhood streets can countenance for long this remarkable bit of mythology. Their vocabularies and syntax may differ from those prevailing in other subcultures, but nonverbal they certainly are not.

"But isn't it true," asks an oft-heard rhetorical question, "that disadvantaged Negro children, because they are socialized under conditions of poverty and discrimination, enter school without the experiential background necessary for successful academic achievement?" Large numbers of high-achieving pupils from the black ghettos of almost any city belie the assertion. Moreover, many experimental studies and demonstration projects have established that impoverished children, when guided in appropriate learning experiences, can and do learn effectively.

Significant in this regard are the results achieved by Smilansky and his associates working with Middle-Eastern Jews in Israel. Their "social disadvantages" and associated academic retardation are strikingly similar to those of children in our urban ghettos. Smilansky and his co-workers operate on the premise that poor children, too, can learn; and through imaginative educational programs they commonly raise these children's IQ's by twenty points on the preschool level and by ten points in adolescence (17).

To cite one more illustration: Several summers ago, Kenneth Clark and associates at the Northside Center for Child Development brought a number of seriously retarded pupils from slum neighborhoods into a child-development center in Harlem for instruction in reading. The children were taught one hour a day, five days a week, for four weeks, during which time they progressed remarkably in reading achievement—an average gain of eight months on a standard test and a minimum gain of four months. During the school year that followed, with the children attending their regular classes all day for nine months, test results at the end showed that the *average* child among them had gained not at all in reading achievement (1). "Culturally deprived" backgrounds do not explain away such findings. It is clear that this differential performance of the same children in two "academic" settings cannot be explained in terms of their preschool experiences.

A still more pervasive myth is that poor black children lack the problem-solving and coping skills essential for effective academic performance: strange commentary about children whose very survival requires that they cope daily with problem situations more complex and demanding than are ever faced by most children from affluent homes. Consider, for example, the nine-year-old girl whose mother goes to work early, leaving her to feed and get younger siblings off to school before she reports to her own fourth-grade class—and also to care for them after school. Think of the large majority of children who do *not* fall prey to those multiple pathologies of the black ghetto that trap so many of their peers. Try to imagine what it means for a Negro child merely to grow up in this racist society—of the objective problems of interpersonal and institutional relations and the subjective problems of identity he is bound to confront. Poverty and the ghetto destroy many black children, but those who survive—and most of them do—emerge with a maturity and ability to cope that the school would do well to recognize and learn to use.

Finally, we need to face that persistent myth which seeks to explain the substandard academic performance prevailing among black children by the accusation that black children are genetically inferior to white children. This hoary doctrine has been repudiated explicitly by almost all reputable behavioral scientists (9,13, 16,18), but the very few atavistic diehards who remain serve effectively to reinforce prejudices that lie deep in our culture. School people, of course, have learned during the past decade or so that it is no longer professionally respectable to allege racial or social-class differences in "native endowment"—not out loud, that is; but abundant anecdotal evidence shows that plainly a very large proportion of our profession really does not believe that black children, especially if they are poor, have the genetic potential for normative educational development. The vast accumulation of theoretical and empirical evidence that they *do* cannot be reviewed here, but it is important to note the overwhelming consensus among behavioral scientists on this issue.* As Milton Schwebel's acute critical analysis of work in the field concludes, although we still have not learned to cope with the learning problems of that tiny proportion of children who are neurologically impaired, "for all the rest of our children, there is no known reason to believe that they will be unable to do the work of an academic high school or college. . . . Who can be educated? *Everyman.*" (15)

Real Reasons

Since none of these widespread perceptions—or all of them together—suffices to explain the poor academic performance commonly observed among Negro children, what does? Let us consider a few alternative hypotheses.

First, the curricula experiences generally provided for Negro pupils are counterproductive to their developmental needs. We know that most of these children come from impoverished homes that afford but few of the learnings valued by the school; yet we confront them with prepackaged academic content and procedures that were designed for children from more advantaged backgrounds, thereby aggravating the handicaps born of poverty and discrimination. We also know that Negro children confronted everywhere by institutional racism face identity problems of major proportions; but we provide them with instructional materials that distort or ignore the very significant roles of *their* people in the development of our country and its culture, thus intensifying the "normal" personality problems of black children in a "white" society. On both counts, our schools violate a basic pedagogical principle long enshrined in textbooks on education—that the learning experiences of children should be appropriate to their varying backgrounds, interests and current stages of development.

Many teachers are already proving that *good teaching* will greatly enhance the academic achievement of black children. They define objectives in behavioral terms, emphasizing process goals rather than bare facts. They use curriculum content, including resource people, drawn from the real world black children know and with which they can identify. They disregard the grade-level prescriptions of curriculum bulletins and plan learning experiences appropriate to the developmental levels of *their* pupils. They individualize instruction. They supplant recitations with small group projects, free discussion, role-playing, debates, creative writing, purposeful field trips, and other informal techniques. And they maintain a classroom climate of warmth, informality and mutual respect.

In lieu of pseudoscientific theories about why their students cannot learn, such teachers are utilizing the suggestive approaches to meaningful teaching that are increasingly available in the professional literature (3,7,10,11). They are pointing the way to far more effective education than currently prevails for the masses of black children now being crippled by inept school practice.

Second, the poor academic motivation and performance of many Negro pupils are reflections, in very large measure, of the negative perceptions and attitudes they sense in their teachers. Teachers who really do not believe that poor black children can attain achievement goals expected of other children will behave toward them differently—in the learning objectives they set, in the help and encouragement they give, and in the standards of performance they accept. Moreover, either explicitly or subtly, they communicate their assessments to the pupils, who in turn tend to adapt their behaviors to what they perceive as their teachers' expectations. These relationships have been demonstrated experimentally in a number of studies (4,14).

The developing racial pride among black people—"Black is beautiful"—is helping to erode inferiority feelings born of slavery and its Jim-Crow aftermath. Our schools need to move toward, not away from, enhancing the dignity and feelings of self-worth among black children.

Time is overdue for all of the teaching profession to come to understand—and really believe—that impoverished black children, given appropriate learning experiences, can indeed learn effectively. This need calls for major emphasis on relevant behavioral-science theory and research in preservice programs of teacher education. Even more important, it calls for the massive reeducation of teachers in service to dispel the attitudes of nonexpectation that now pervade most ghetto schools (8).

Third, the alienation of schools from the communities they serve operates seriously to erode their effectiveness with black pupils. In order to develop an effective educational program, it is almost axiomatic that the school must have the support and cooperation of home and community, a relationship which tends to prevail among schools serving the middle-class but is rarely obtained in the Negro ghetto. Instead, a gulf of suspicion—often overt hostility—commonly separates school personnel from the parents of the children they teach. And, in a society becoming more and more polarized racially, this alienation is aggravated in neighborhoods where most parents are black and most teachers are white.

School people can find no valid defense in complaining that parents in the ghetto seldom visit the school or participate in PTA. Objective circumstances of poverty keep many of them away; and others who could come are dissuaded from doing so by the condescending and often overtly hostile attitudes they perceive among teachers and administrators. The school's responsibility is to *win* the cooperation of its ghetto clientele. Home visits by teachers could contribute greatly to this end and also to the needed re-education of professional staff. Sincere efforts to make black parents welcome in the school and to involve them in its program could help. Most fundamental, of course, is for school people genuinely to respect their black pupils and to educate them effectively.

Our Call

The development of relevant curricula and appropriate instructional methods, positive expectations by teachers, and cooperative relations with the home—these are only a few of the pressing needs among schools serving the Negro ghetto; but they point the way to much improved education for black children. We teachers, who significantly shape the life chances of Negro pupils, have the professional responsibility to further such developments in our schools. If we do not, we may reasonably expect them to be imposed from without by the community.

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Promoting Peer Acceptance of the Newly Immigrated Child

Mary Renck Jalongo

MEI'S FAMILY had recently left his war-torn country in Southeast Asia. He arrived unexpectedly at the doorway of our campus nursery school, prepared for immediate enrollment. During the next several weeks, Mei was gradually encouraged to remove his jacket, to be seated among his peers and eventually to participate in the pursuits of the other children.

I was at a table with several students when a girl asked if I had seen a particular television program the previous night. The children expressed shock and disbelief when I replied that I didn't own a television set. Mei, who had been observing up to this point, began working quickly with modeling material and announced "I make one for you." He fashioned a television, complete with an indentation for the screen, an antenna made of toothpicks, and three-dimensional clay knobs. As I voiced my surprise and delight, the child smiled and put up his hand as if to suggest that I wait until it was finished to comment. He rolled out a long, thin piece of clay for the cord, attached a "plug," and secured it to one side of a box as though it were an electrical outlet. We remarked enthusiastically about his elaborate creation and, once again, he instructed us nonverbally to withhold judgment until the project was complete. Mei then touched the knob, made a clicking sound, and stated with a tone of finality, "There."

That day Mei became a celebrity. Colleagues were invited to marvel at his handiwork, his creation was labeled with a plaque bearing his name, and the clay was air-dried to preserve the product of his efforts. Other preschoolers were impressed by Mei's considerable talent, and he became identified as the resident resource person for all modeling clay challenges. Children who wanted to make a dinosaur, racing car or galloping horse would seek Mei out; this recognition as an artist soon led to his inclusion in a wide variety of other classroom activities.

Earning the respect of peers is frequently a turning point in the quality of the culturally different child's social existence, and educators have the power to facilitate that process. It is no coincidence, for example, that ethnocentrism and prejudice are surmounted in two children's literature classics (Yashima, 1955; Estes, 1973) only after the child's competence is revealed and given the recognition it merits. Whether in literature or in real life, children in general and the newly immigrated in particular have a fundamental need for belongingness (Maslow, 1968) which can best be met through peer affiliation.

Portrait of the Newly Immigrated Child

Near the turn of the 20th century, the vast majority of American immigrants were from Eastern European backgrounds (Freedman, 1980). More recently, however, about 80 percent of the estimated 110,900 children under the age of 16 who have immigrated to U.S. shores annually were of Asian or Latin Ameri-

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can origin (Ashabranner, 1983; Bentley, 1981; Garver, 1981; Haskins, 1980; Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1982-83). The newly immigrated during both eras have often met with resentment, exclusion, suspicion and open hostility (Anderson, 1981; Blumenthal, 1981), something that third- and fourth-generation offspring of American immigrants tend to forget in their now comfortable assimilation into society.

In response to this opposition on the part of residents, most newcomers to a social group adjust by associating with others who are unfamiliar with the existing situation and very familiar with their native culture. In most major metropolitan areas, for example, sections of the city are readily identified by ethnic heritage because members of a particular culture have gathered together for mutual support. When children enter school, however, this network is disrupted as culturally similar siblings and friends are assigned to different grade levels or separate classrooms of the same grade. Under these circumstances, the newly immigrated child is immediately immersed in customs, language and physical surroundings unlike anything the child has previously experienced. Often the child is unable to articulate even the simplest needs or questions in the predominant language. Support from the culturally similar neighborhood is far removed and the child senses a social isolation that can only be remedied through affiliation with peers in the society of school.

The Importance of Peer Acceptance

Zubin's (1980) comprehensive review of the literature on children's friendships describes the impact of peer acceptance or rejection by concluding:

> Friendships are among the central ingredients of children's lives, from as early as age 3 — or, in some cases, even earlier — through adolescence. Friendships occupy, both in their actual conduct and in the world of thought and fantasy, a large proportion of children's waking hours. They are often the sources of children's greatest pleasures and deepest frustrations (p. 3).

Clearly, peer relationships play a pivotal role in the experience of all children. This form of social interaction has particular significance for children who are new, not only to the classroom, but to the community and culture as well. A newly immigrated child arrives at school and the sensitive teacher's mind begins racing with questions: "What can I do to put this child at ease?" "Will the other children's reactions be favorable?" "How might I encourage peer acceptance?" "Where do I begin?"

Before any specific research-based recommendations are implemented, teachers must themselves acquire and guide children in attaining a general attitude in which cultural and individual differences are accepted, rather than merely tolerated. Purves (1972) states that in order to function successfully in culturally pluralistic social groups, members of the group should know their own responses, respect their own responses, realize that others' responses may differ from their own and respect others' responses even when different from their own.

In addition to this basic orientation, there is a body of theory and research on the topic of children's friendships which has important implications for educators in multicultural settings. What follows, therefore, is an attempt to 1) describe the characteristics and skills of socially successful children; 2) summarize the developmental sequence of children's cognition, friendships and play; and 3) offer specific recommendations to educators based upon research findings in the area of children's friendships.

The Skills of Friendship

Whether a child is in infancy (Lee, 1973), toddlerhood (Eckerman et al., 1975; Rheingold et al., 1976), early childhood (Hartup et al., 1967), middle childhood (Gottman et al., 1975) or adolescence (Dacey, 1979), the characteristics that make children interesting companions remain rather consistent (Waldrop and Halverson, 1975). Popular children tend to be more outgoing, enthusiastic and responsive to others' needs (Mannerino, 1976). It has also been suggested that the child who is sought after for repeated social contacts has a positive self-image (Horowitz, 1976), tends to do well academically and has a higher socioeconomic status (Minuchin, 1977).

Some psychologists contend that children are apt to affiliate with peers whom they perceive similar to themselves, while others suggest that children may be attracted to friends who have attributes different from their own and therefore regarded as complementary. Perhaps, as McDavid and Garwood (1978) observe, both influences are operative:

> Friendship may originate either out of the recognition of shared attitudes, values, or goals ("birds of a feather flock together") or out of the recognition that two people are complementary, so that the needs of one serve the other ("opposites attract"). Both common interests as well as mutual need satisfactions contribute to friendship (p. 292).

Promoting Prosocial Behavior

The primary task of the educator in encouraging affiliation in culturally diverse classrooms is to help children view one another in essentially positive ways. Both the newly immigrated child's uniqueness and the many characteristics he or she has in common with agemates must be emphasized. Fortunately, numerous publications offer practical ideas for lessons with an affective emphasis (Canfield and Wells, 1976; Castillo, 1974; Jensen, 1977).

Self Esteem: A Classroom Affair (Borba and Borba, 1978), for example, contains an activity that increases prosocial behavior and positive reinforcement. Each child is given a paper flower and several petals to cut out. The children are instructed to write (or draw) something thoughtful or commendable which peers have done for them on each petal and then distribute them to classmates. In this way, each child's flower picture is a compilation of compliments from others and students are encouraged to be more positive in their peer interactions.

By introducing activities that encourage prosocial behavior and positive reinforcement, teachers are in effect guiding children in the acquisition of several attributes associated with socially well-adjusted individuals such as affability, responsiveness, and giving or receiving praise. The skills of friendship are evident throughout the life span of the socially successful from infancy through adulthood and, while it is possible to enhance children's experiences, the nature of peer relationships is affected by the child's developmental level.

The Developmental Sequence of Friendship

The developmental sequence of cognition, friendship and play is interrelated (see Figure 1). Peer contacts are initiated during infancy and typically begin with a child observing another child, making brief physical contact, or sometimes offering an agemate a toy or food. This form of interaction occurs during the sensorimotor stage of cognitive development when infants/toddlers are actively exploring the environment through their senses and also corresponds to the period of solitary play. Because this superficial sort of contact could hardly be categorized as a friendship, it is not until the preschool years that peers are categorized as playmates.

Relationships among preschoolers also tend to be rather transitory because young children have difficulty in taking another person's perspective. When children of this age group are asked why someone is a friend, physical proximity, interesting possessions and willingness to concede often affect the response. In an interview, 4-year-old Chad was asked why he identified David as his friend and he replied, "Cause him gots a hotwheels and me can ride on it." Such rationales for friendship also provide some clue to the sporadic nature of the young child's peer affiliation. If David suddenly tells Chad he cannot play with the toy, then the "friendship" would be expected to dissolve, at least temporarily. This stage in peer relationships, which begins as early as age 4 and may last until age 9, is called *one-way assistance* (Selman, 1980). It roughly coincides both with cooperative play and preoperational thought.

As children enter the school years, their play generally becomes more elaborate and bound by formal rules, while their thinking becomes more flexible and realistic. Concomitantly, the middle years of childhood are apt to include more stable peer relationships which are classified under Selman's (1980) stages of friendship termed *two-way fair-weather cooperation* and *mutually shared relationships*. Now when children are asked to explain why someone has been identified as a friend, they tend to emphasize cooperation, mutual interests and personality traits.

Friendships during middle childhood are reflective of the emergent ability to think abstractly so that a personal attribute such as a sense of humor might be cited as a reason for peer acceptance. Furthermore, due to the competitive nature of their play, school-age children have a clearer picture of their abilities in relation to those of agemates; appraisals of peer strengths and weaknesses affect perceptions of an individual's desirability as a friend. Friendships during the middle years are often intense and exclusionary with great importance attached to the status of being a "best" friend.

As children enter adolescence, they are customarily into Piaget's (1950) stage of formal operations and approaching the level of *autonomous, interdependent friendships*. In this stage, children are less possessive in their friendships and feel sufficiently secure to permit friends to have their own identity and independence. Unlike the middle years child, who sees a friendship threatened when a best friend has other friends, most adolescents recognize the need for a variety of peer relationships. Of course, it is possible for children at any chronological age to function at earlier or later stages of social maturity than would normally be expected, just as it is possible for adults to engage in friendships that are superficial and have much in common with relationships we customarily see among children. Furthermore, even though friendships tend to follow this sequence, any serious interruption in peer relationships, such as relocation, can cause older children to work through previous stages of friendship again.

The Impact of Moving on Friendships

Moves during the early school years have long been recognized as a disruptive influence on children's lives, even when they occur within the geographical boundaries of the native country (Sullivan, 1953). It is estimated that one in five American families will relocate this year, a situation that is routinely given a heavy loading on scales intended to measure stress levels and a practice that leaves the U.S. a "nation of strangers" in the opinion of Packard (1972). If the lives of children from preschool through adolescence are "shattered by leaving their home towns and home-town friends," as Ames (1972) suggests, then the potential for serious adjustment problems would obviously be intensified when children leave behind not only their neighborhoods, but their homelands as well.

When a new family moves into a neighborhood, for example, the adolescents don't immediately form *intimate and mutual sharing attachment* friendships simply because they are capable of functioning at that level of interpersonal relationship. They are likely to be plummeted back down to *two-way assistance, fair-weather relationships* or even *momentary interactions;* and this in itself can be a source of considerable discontent. Fortunately, the sensitive, caring adult can function as a positive influence on children's social adjustment and overall mental health (Bernard, 1980; Hartup, 1980).

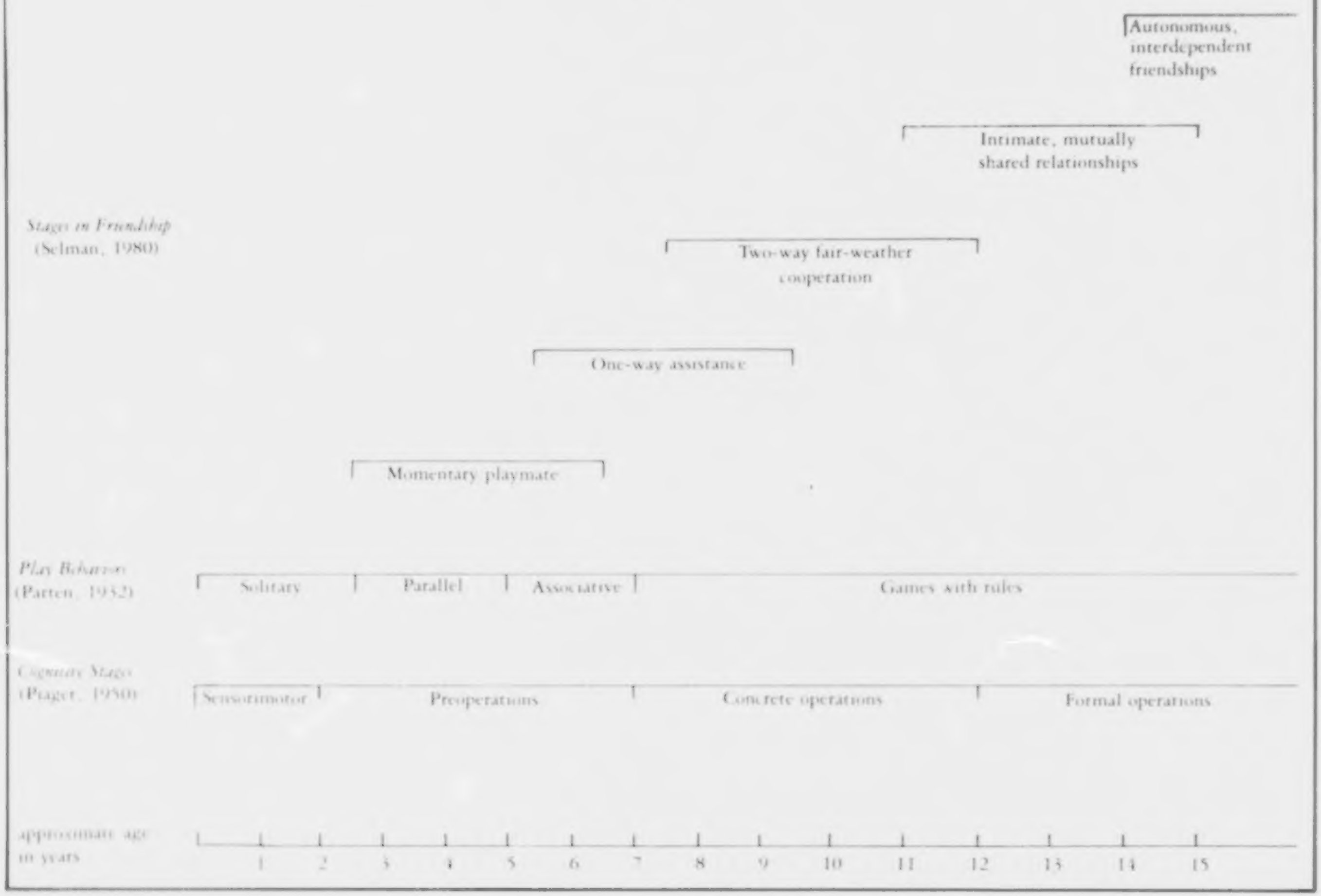
Promoting Peer Interaction

In order to initiate and maintain satisfying peer relationships, children need to acquire competence in four skills of friendship. In a major work on children's peer relationships, Rubin (1980) identifies the following four abilities as crucial to each child's social success: 1) gaining entry into group activities, 2) expressing approval and support to peers, 3) managing conflicts appropriately and 4) exercising sensitivity and tact. Certainly, the perceptive teacher has the ability to guide children in acquiring any or all of these competencies. Recent research in the area of children's friendships has far-reaching implications for educators who hope to facilitate a newly immigrated child's acceptance by peers.

Research on the social process of modeling (Bandura, 1963) suggests that most processes are best taught through demonstration rather than directives. When teachers emulate interaction strategies, praise desirable behaviors and instruct children in socially acceptable ways of managing aggression, children are equipped with socialization strategies they can implement in their own interrelationships. An even more effective way of encouraging children to acquire the requisite affiliation skills is for them to observe and model peers (O'Connor, 1969). Specific suggestions related to the four skill areas identified by Rubin (1980) are identified below.

1. *Gaining entry into social groups.* Research by Corsaro (1979) has indicated that, particularly for young children, the ability to "blend in" with ongoing play activities is the most successful means of being accepted by peers. Children who are most often integrated into the play of others circle the area; size up the situation; and if children are playing with sand, for

Figure 1


Autonomous, interdependent friendships
Intimate, mutually shared relationships
Stages in Friendship
(Selman, 1980)
Two-way fair-weather cooperation
One-way assistance
Momentary playmate
Play Behaviors
(Parten, 1932)
Solitary
Parallel
Associative
Games with rules
Cognitive Stages
(Piaget, 1950)
Sensorimotor
Preoperations
Concrete operations
Formal operations
approximate age in years
1
2
3
4
5
6
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15

instance, participate in a similar activity. The least effective approach is disrupting ongoing play. Clearly, this skill of merging into peer groups can be demonstrated to children by their agemates through dramatization and discussion.

2. *Expressing approval and support.* When teachers model techniques for expressing approval in their daily interaction with children and praise students who exhibit these behaviors, they exert a powerful positive influence on peer relationships. In a study by Serbin, Tonic and Sternglanz (1979), teachers who reinforced children's interactions with peers of the opposite sex, for example, were successful in increasing the incidence of those contacts. These findings suggest that children's interactions are responsive not only to peer modeling, but to adult mediation as well. The newly immigrated child is likely to have an even greater need for the approval and support of significant others, particularly when the child first begins school. The teacher may be called upon initially to serve as spokesperson, facilitator or advocate—roles that will tend to diminish as the child forms secure attachments with peers. Overdependence on the teacher can actually work against the child's eventual peer acceptance (Moore, 1967), so it is important that any intervention be discontinued when it no longer serves the intended purpose.

3. *Managing conflict appropriately.* Resources such as books and nonprint media are another source of role models for children. The Kindle series (Scholastic, 1977), for instance, gives children information about social situations and how to handle them. Similarly, literature that sensitively portrays social isolation (Beatty, 1981) or models resolutions to common sources of conflict (*I Can't Wait* series) may be used to spark a discussion. In *Let's Be Enemies* (Udry, 1961) and *The Hating Book* (Zolotow, 1969), for instance, two of the basic reasons for peer disputes are portrayed: 1) unwillingness to compromise and 2) a minor misunderstanding that escalates into a feud following a communication breakdown. The characters in these books and films can provide children with models of conflict resolution by illustrating social skills that permit children to resolve conflict through negotiation rather than displays of aggression.

4. *Exercising sensitivity and tact.* Peer rejection at one time or another is inevitable, but understanding the possible reasons for exclusionary behavior and improving communication skills can help to put the rebuffs of peers into proper perspective. In a study by Diveck and Goetz (1979) it was concluded that socially successful children were more resilient. If their query "Can I play?" brought a loud shout of "No!" from another child, they were apt to offer explanations for peer rejection that were external to themselves, such as "Maybe he was in a bad mood today," and persist in their attempts to affiliate. This is another area in which teachers can exert a positive influence by teaching students to more fully articulate their feelings, saying, "I don't feel like playing right now" or "You can as soon as we finish this game," instead of a simple "No." Educators can also be of assistance in helping children recognize that a single refusal from one child should never be overgeneralized into the belief that "Nobody likes me."

Whether the friendship skill is gaining entry into social groups, expressing approval and support, managing conflict appropriately, or exercising sensitivity and tact, educators repeatedly emerge as mediators in the child's efforts to form friendships (Roedell, Slaby and Robinson, 1977).

The Teacher as Mediator

In a fascinating report on their work at The Boys Town Center, Stocking and Arezzo (1979) outline a procedure that has been used successfully with friendless children. First, a specific observable behavior is identified, discussed and demonstrated. It is during this initial phase that children are provided with an explanation of the probable consequences of their new skill; for example, the potential benefits of asking to play rather than disrupting ongoing play. The second step provides structured practice through role play or puppetry, followed by constructive feedback on the child's performance. Finally, the child's appropriate behaviors are reinforced and any needed revisions to the child's behavior identified and practiced in a nonthreatening environment. This particular program has been conducted in a clinical setting, but the basic procedures were originally used in classrooms (Asher, Oden and Gottman, 1977).

Even the best-intentioned attempts to improve peer acceptance among children could be unsuccessful, and adults must approach any intervention strategy with sensitivity and caution. The potential benefit of social skills training is compromised if children feel as though they are under close surveillance and, as a result, become even more inhibited in their peer interactions. In his book on the social development of young children, Smith (1982) insightfully observes:

> Helping children learn social skills, such as making friends, is a troublesome effort for many adults. Ultimately, every child is alone in the social arena. We can stand by the sidelines and cheer their efforts, but they must be the ones to act. By becoming too involved in manipulating a social situation, we take the risk of alienating children from their peers. Yet, by doing absolutely nothing for them, we may contribute to their own confusion and sense of isolation. These two extremes can be avoided by becoming involved without being oppressive, and detached without being aloof (p. 141).

If teachers can succeed in achieving a delicate balance between the two extremes of interference and indifference in promoting peer acceptance, the newly immigrated child's adjustment and assimilation into American society can be facilitated. The culturally different child has many difficult challenges ahead, but those obstacles are approached more confidently when the child has gained the recognition and respect of peers. Teachers who effectively manage the human resources of the multicultural classroom establish an enriched social environment full of opportunities to give and receive assistance, praise, affection and empathy.

As Segal and Yahares (1979) assert, the long-term value of such efforts may be substantial: "Children affect children more than many of us may have heretofore imagined. Significantly, it is in the quality of children's early interactions with friends that we may see reflected best the outlines of their later adjust-

Photo by Juan Tituana/Center for Young Children, University of MD ment" (p. 234). Childhood friendships may foreshadow not only an individual's social development, but presage trends in the larger cultural context as well.

Children's orientation to the social world, which begins with their earliest friendships, must be considered as part of any efforts to integrate multicultural education into the curriculum. Efforts to expand children's awareness of others, their capacity to communicate, their willingness and ability to cooperate, and their sense of social responsibility should be emphasized throughout their lives (Ramsey, 1982, p. 138).

By promoting peer acceptance among children with diverse ethnic backgrounds, educators are taking an important initial step toward intercultural understanding.

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The Days That Make Us Happy: Games Around the World

Sahara—Djanet. Courtesy of Unesco/D. Lajoux.

"Let us examine a few choice games, garnered from many nations, and consider ways they can contribute to a program of education for peace."

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Mary Esther McWhirter

"LIFE IS PRECIOUS. Enjoy it!" This bit of fortune-cookie wisdom certainly applies to children's games around the world. Centuries old and universally known, they are a precious heritage. Their prime reason for being is of course the enjoyment they afford. But under the guidance of sensitive leaders, games can do more. They can be tools for helping children develop values.

When played in an atmosphere of fun and good fellowship, games with an international flavor may be means of broadening children's horizons, deepening their insights and expanding their feelings of affinity with other members of the World House.

Let us examine a few choice games, garnered from many nations, and consider ways they can contribute in a program of education for peace.

□ GOLDEN BRIDGE, a German favorite, may help our children *begin to look for similarities between games that cross national boundaries:*

Two players raise their hands high over their heads to form a "bridge." Each secretly thinks of a person or object. The others—ten or more—form a line and march under the bridge chanting:

Golden bridge, golden bridge
Golden bridge over the water.
Who broke you?
The goldsmith and his daughter.
All march through
With rod and spear held over you.

On the word "you" the bridge is lowered over the child standing under it. Each of the bridge children takes the captured one aside and whispers the name of his secret object or person. The captive then stands behind the bridge child of his choice. The remaining players march under the bridge until all have made a choice. A tug of war determines the winning team.

Except for the name and the chant, "Golden Bridge" is exactly like "London Bridge," beloved by generations of English-speaking children. Perhaps the tearing down of the old London Bridge partly accounts for its origin, although the tug-of-war feature dates back to much earlier times when it symbolized the struggle between good and evil. In any case, the pattern has traveled all around the world: Peruvian children play "The King May Pass"; Chilean children, "The Hen Runs"; and Cuban children, "The Fountain."

A young American visiting France could easily join his hosts in "Cache, Cache"; if his travels took him to Vietnam, in "Five-and-Ten"; if to Nigeria, in "Bojuboju"; or if to the heart of Central Africa, in "Owl and Wolf." Why? Again because all four games closely resemble "Hide-and-Seek."

When we were children we ran, fell down, skinned our knees, but still continued to join hands and race in "Last Couple Out," because it fascinated us. It also fascinates Russian children

who form two parallel lines and pair off to play what they call "Gorelki."

Wherever one journeys, "Tag"—sometimes called "Tig"—appears in one form or another. Despite manifold variations it is fundamentally a running-chasing activity to which a handicap is usually attached, such as stooping, hopping, squatting, or being blindfolded. For a quick release of pent-up physical energy, at recess time or after school, no game is more effective than good old "Tag."

"Wolf," known as "El Lobo" in Peru, is a tag game with ludicrous aspects. Children become hilarious as "Mr. Wolf" announces: "I have to put on my socks!" or "I have to brush my teeth!" and then pantomimes the appropriate action.

"Hopscotch," a universal favorite since ancient times in Greece and Sparta, appears wherever children are at play today. Sometimes their jumping and hopping follows a circular pattern, sometimes a square, sometimes a rectangle. Norwegian youngsters, like their ancestors during the early Christian era, try their best to "Hop into Paradise" as they progress through a series of squares topped off with a semicircle that represents the celestial goal.

When the prophet Zechariah declared, "And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing. . . ." he may have been hoping for a happier time when children would again be absorbed in games of "Hopscotch."

☐ BLARNEY STONE, an Irish game rich in elements of daring and excitement, illustrates games that would start our children on quests to *ferret out information about folklore, traditions and customs cherished in other lands:*

Recommended for small groups. The players form two parallel lines and face the Blarney Stone which is placed in the center. The "Stone" may be a basket, mittens, newspaper or book—for example.

The players close their eyes and clasp their hands behind their backs. When the leader calls, "Go!" they WALK *slowly toward the "Stone" until he calls "Stop!" Then, they open their eyes and* RUN *toward it.*

If Player A is the first to touch the Stone, he places his hand on it and remains there until the others return to their lines. Still touching the Blarney Stone, he calls, "Blarney, Bum! Run—run—run!"

At that signal, the others run up and down beside Player A, daring him to tag them. They try to see how near they can get to him without being caught.

When Player A tags Player B, the latter grasps A's free hand and B tries to tag one of the others as they run along beside him. When Player C is tagged, he clasps B's free hand to form the end of the chain, thus becoming the new "tagger."

This continues until all except Player X have joined the chain. Then Player A, with his hand still on the Blarney Stone, calls "Blarney, Bum! Run—run—run!"

Members of the chain drop hands to pursue Player X who is still free. When caught, he places his hand on the Blarney Stone and the game begins again.

Before or after playing "Blarney Stone," a teacher might ask: "Did any of you ever see the Blarney Stone? Where is it? Why do some people want to kiss it?" Then, the search for answers may lead the class into previously unknown territory: Irish fairy tales, folk dances, music, food and poetry, plus travel films, an exhibit, and perhaps a party or festival.

"Dragon's Tail" (China) provides a challenge just as enchanting. "Who has seen a dragon in a Chinese New Year's parade? How does the Chinese dragon differ from the European one?" Making dragon masks, inviting a Chinese friend to teach a lion dance, listening to a recording, learning a lullaby, cooking, or collecting proverbs may be among the outgrowths of this lively game and the ensuing discussion.

☐ The Sudanese HYENA AND SHEEP is a prime example of games that help children *understand and appreciate differences in various cultures:*

At the beginning of the game, the sheep is inside the circle of children who stand with tightly

Illustrations by
Lucy and John Hawkinson

clasped hands. The hyena is outside. The circle moves around chanting:

Don-don baji camelot.
Don-don baji camelot.

The hyena endeavors to crawl under or climb over the clasped hands, or break their grip, but the players try to prevent him from doing so. When the hyena gets inside the circle and captures the sheep, two other children become hyena and sheep.

In other lands contemporaries of Sudanese children play a similar game, calling it by quite different names: "Cat and Mouse" in the United States, England, and China; "Cats and Mice" in Russia; and "Mouse in the Meal Barn" in the Shetland Islands of Scotland. It becomes "Antelope in the Net" in the Congo where hunting with huge nets is a customary way of obtaining meat. As the young players try to prevent their quarry's escape, they chant: "Kasha Mu Bukondi! Kasha Mu Bukondi!"

Some games of this type relate to food and ways of eating, as in the Vietnamese "Pick-up Chopsticks" or the Chinese "Cut the Beancurd." Others reflect certain holiday observances. At Hanukah time, Israeli children play "Spin the Svivon"; in Latin American countries, "Piñata" is traditional on Three Kings' Day; "The Egg-Tapping Game" is an Eastertime amusement among Irish children.

Playing these games is good; but relating them to children's innate interests in animals, food and festivals is even better. Questions that give a simple game larger dimensions may inspire children to delve more and more deeply into ways of life in other parts of the world. Game leaders can spark this natural curiosity by asking: "Did you ever eat with chopsticks? What did you eat?" . . . "What is beancurd made from? Where shall we look for a recipe?" . . . "Why is Hanukah celebrated? By whom? What is a svivon? What do the letters on the four sides mean? Do you know the Hanukah song in which children sing: *Tops spin merrily, Spin, spin, spin./Spin, spin, spin, Gaily as can be?*" . . . "Why is Three Kings' Day celebrated? When? Who were the Three Kings?" . . . "Where did the Easter egg custom probably begin? How?"

Instead of destroying a game's spontaneity, activities related to it may add lustre. And even nonreaders may suddenly find themselves pursuing books as they join classmates on an imaginary flight to a faraway place—a flight prompted by a game.

□ Like the majority of round-the-world games, MATCH MY FEET (from the Congo) may help children *realize that their peers in other lands share delight in highly active kinds of play:*

Six to ten players stand in a circle with "It" in the center. The adult leader claps rhythmically to set a pattern for the game.

When this pattern is established, "It" goes to stand in front of another player. As the clapping continues, he performs a few fancy steps in the same rhythm.

The child whom he faces tries to imitate exactly the steps performed by "It"—always moving in time to the clapping rhythm. If successful, he then becomes "It" and proceeds in the same way, but introducing his own favorite steps.

The game continues until all players have had a chance to be "It."

Typical of most African games, "Match My Feet" captivates children because of its strong rhythms. Restless youngsters are enthusiastic participants because of the extraordinary demands made upon them: close attention, skill in imitation, ability to switch quickly from one action to another, and necessity of using the entire body. No equipment is required; outdoor and indoor settings are equally suitable.

The Japanese game "Crab Race" (in which players bend over backwards with hands and feet touching the floor) requires dexterity; the strenuous "Cheetahs and Cheetals" from India places a high premium on careful listening and speedy running.

Older boys, eager to test their balance and endurance, wrestle American Indian style. "Kick the Stick," also American Indian in origin, is a relay race with a unique twist; but, like relays in general, it affords exercise, teaches children to wait for turns and then, at the right moment, perform quickly in the exact manner prescribed. Practicing self-discipline and also cooperation with one's own team are vital elements in this and all relays, whatever their source.

☐ A gift from our English cousins, KIM is one of the games from another land that *illustrates that boys and girls everywhere sometimes prefer quiet games*:

In preparation the leader places ten or twelve objects on a tray, which he then hides. He also provides a sheet of paper and a pencil for each child.

As the game begins, the leader brings out the tray and lets the children see it for one minute only. Then he removes it. Each child lists as many objects as he can remember. The player with the best memory is winner.

In a schoolroom where playing space is limited and where noisy games are avoided in consideration of others in the building, this look-and-remember-and-write pastime is a wise choice. It is also the kind of game that permits lame or hard-of-hearing children to compete with classmates on an equal basis and sometimes know the thrill of winning.

Other games in this category include the pencil-and-paper favorite from China, "Building a Triangular House." Once players have mastered its simple format, they may proceed without adult supervision—a boon when children are bedfast with a minor illness or confined indoors because of inclement weather.

Blindfolded Danish children who play "Pantelege" depend on their sense of touch to identify previously hidden objects. For preschoolers learning the names of familiar items, this game has special attraction; it contains no drill and allows for instant success as they call out, "spoon," "pencil" or "ball."

"My Great Aunt Lives in Tours" (France)—a less active and less noisy version of "Farmer in the Dell"—may be played in a tight little circle or at schoolroom desks. Based on the ability to imitate certain sounds, to listen to others, and to remember, "My Great Aunt" may break the tedium of a long bus ride or give children a welcome change from vigorous physical activity. On playground or in schoolroom, its humor has power to relax tensions and cool off simmering antagonisms.

☐ The Lebanese game PEBBLE TOSS, like many other internationally popular ones, helps boys and girls *find fun and adventure in pastimes that require imagination and ingenuity, rather than elaborate equipment*:

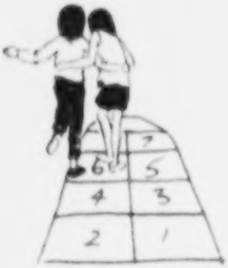
Each player digs a small, cup-like hole in the ground. All holes should be in a straight row, close together. (Empty tin cans and buttons can be substituted for holes and pebbles if the game is played indoors.)

The leader marks off a goal, parallel with the line of holes and about eight feet away from them.

When the game begins each child has the same number of pebbles—three or four. The first child stands at the goal line and tries to toss his pebbles, one by one, into the hole he dug. The others follow suit. The winner is the one with the most pebbles in his hole, whether he or someone else tossed them in!

Sticks, stones, leaves, acorns, seeds, pine cones, and sea shells are among the nature materials utilized by playing children all over the world. With ease they work out their own indoor adaptations, substituting tin cans and buttons for holes in the ground and pebbles or transforming chairs into make-believe trees. From experience they know that a handkerchief, folded newspaper or sandal is all they need for Ghanian "Grab-It."

"Rabbits in a Burrow" (Australia), "Dragon's Tail" (China), and "My Friend Has Returned from the Orient" (Cuba) are typical games that require no equipment whatsoever, often opening the way for creative adaptations. A club of older boys rejected the Australian game, mentioned earlier, because they considered rabbits



weak and small. After they had renamed it "Lions in a Den" and christened the runner as well as the chaser, "Lion," they played it with great gusto.

Summary

Fun—laughter—glee lie at the heart of children's games. The ones presented here—gifts from ancient times and distant places—have survived because through the centuries boys and girls have enjoyed them. As today's children enjoy these self-same games, may they feel a growing sense of kinship with each other.

During playtime when children are relaxed in body and merry in spirit, their minds are especially responsive to new discoveries. What they learn with joy today about other lands and peoples, they will remember and cherish through all their tomorrows. In John Masefield's words,

"The days that make us happy
Are the days that make us wise."

Wise enough, perchance, to seek out and follow paths leading in the direction of world peace!

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By KATHARINE TAYLOR

Reality in Learning

A SEVEN-YEAR-OLD IN SCHOOL EXCLAIMS WITH DELIGHT, "I'VE ALWAYS looked at trees, and sometimes I've tried to climb them. But now I know how they grow!" A college senior, having debated with herself about several scholarly careers, spends a summer working with children in the deep South. She comes back clear and firm in her decision, "I am going to be a teacher of children, for I know now how extremely important those younger years are." A scientist explores for years, with many failures, the clues to a certain disease. At last he comes upon the definitive cause. An artist, possessed by an idea which he wants to convey through sculpture, after many unsatisfying attempts realizes one day that he has found the medium, the form, to express this thought.

The true learner is one who consciously or subconsciously is searching for meaning which becomes a part of his life. Such meaning gradually expands and deepens his knowledge and his understanding of his immediate world and of the world at large. Through flashes of sudden insight, meaning illuminates and unifies what had before been disparate facts or unresolved and often inarticulate questioning. Through such informed experience he becomes aware of quality, beauty and order.

Learning, so conceived, is composed of meaningful experiences and of one's growing capacity to reflect upon them and to interpret them. It is the way toward mature and knowledgeable self-direction. It is its own reward. Extrinsic rewards have no place in such learning.

Such help as we adults can give to enable children to learn in these ways is rooted in our recognition of the individual's right to be himself and in our respect for the individual. A child's questions—when he is permitted to be free in his questioning—may seem irrelevant to the adult but not to the child. It is up to the teacher or the parent to try to understand the relevance of these questions to the child's own way of thinking, to his own search for meaning.

Children acquire meanings, true or false, from every kind of experience—in the classroom, in backyard play, in alleys of the slums, in solitary reflection, in their struggle with their own emotions. Formal mastery of facts alone is not true learning. Children can acquire this skill. It is a useful and important skill to acquire but only if it is concerned with the discovery or application of the ideas which unify the

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facts, with the sense of design within the facts. When a teacher begins by stating a concept and then presents to a class certain facts to illustrate this concept, the children can "learn the lesson"; but it may not be absorbed into the reality of their thinking. When a teacher—concerned with any part of the curriculum or with human relations in the classroom—opens the way for children to look hard at certain facts, problems or concrete situations and aids them to discover for themselves the solutions or underlying ideas, this learning becomes a strength to the children's further learning. Alfred North Whitehead, in his book of timeless wisdom, *The Aims of Education*,[1] warns us to "beware of what I will call 'inert ideas'."

Perception of beauty and significance in the visible world, in the creative arts, in the motives and deeds of human beings can begin very early in life. This perception is of course ruined if didactically taught. It occurs through intuitive response and recognition. This involves exposure to great and beautiful literature, music and art; to significant moments and movements in the history of mankind; to instances of integrity, courage and compassion in the life of today. Perception is nourished in children not only through such exposure and recognition but through the children's own making and doing, through their efforts to express—in writing, painting, action—something that they truly feel, that they truly want to say. These two modes of learning experience should be part of the continuing stream in the process of education.

An essential element in all learning is the quality of communication between adults and children. Children of today too often have their lives managed for them, or not. They are under rules of discipline, or not. In short, adults and children too often fail to talk with each other about things that matter to both. Thus, in the extreme complexity of life today, the values inherent in our society and the values essential to personal self-direction can often elude children. The stratification or involuntary isolation of different age groups is a danger to the process of civilization and a danger to the individual. The progress of mankind is jeopardized when reality of communication between the generations falters or fails. Primitive tribes found their own ways of such communication through the structure and expectations of their society. In our own society there is no charted path from adolescence to adulthood. Today it must be otherwise. We have the guidelines. We must use them. As adults we must learn to communicate in more real ways with children, from early childhood on.

What does reality of communication ask of the adult? That he can listen to a child without judging too quickly; that he can genuinely share with a child the delight in discovery, in new learning, because he himself is constantly learning; that, on the basis of mutual trust, values and realization of the worth of law in all human life can be conveyed without the need of preachment; that enjoyment, sheer fun, can be genuinely shared. Learning, thought of in this way, continues throughout the whole of life.

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[1] Alfred North Whitehead, *The Aims of Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1959).

By LAWRENCE K. FRANK

Clues to Children's Identity

Lawrence K. Frank, of Belmont, Massachusetts, author of child growth and development books, states that adults have a great responsibility to develop a positive self-image in children.

IDENTITY IN YOUNG CHILDREN HAS NOT received the attention which has been focused on adolescents by Erikson's presentation of their identity crisis. The young child's identity arises partly from what is done to and for him and what he is told about himself and also from his own efforts to cope with the world, especially his experience of being enculturated and socialized.

The human child, we should remember, arrives as an immature mammalian organism who, as long as he lives, must carry on his incessant intercourse with the environment—through breathing, eating and drinking, eliminating, sleeping and reacting emotionally, and later functioning sexually. Beginning at birth he is subject to parental care and treatment which curb and regulate these functioning activities—through scheduled feeding, cleansing and toilet training, regulated sleeping, and curbing emotional reactions. Thereby he surrenders some of his organic autonomy and becomes increasingly responsive to external requirements and constraints.

From these early experiences the child enjoys bodily functioning and feels "comfortable in his own skin" or he may experience discomfort and pain, beginning to develop an image of his own body as a source of enjoyment or as a burden and a focus of anxiety. This image of the body provides one large and persistent component in his later emerging identity.

By these early child-caring practices the infant is gradually humanized for living in the public world of his people and prepared to participate in their traditional symbolic world of meanings and values. He or she is given a name, often ritually confirmed, and dressed and treated as male or female, thus establishing first social identification.

The infant becomes initially aware of the external world, not as some objective "reality," but as a distinction between *me* and *not* me, in terms of *my* mother, *my* bottle, *my* crib and *my* toy. This may be the first step in recognizing and polarizing the external world which becomes progressively distinguished from *me* and *my*. Through these early encounters he begins to discover himself, his capacities and limitations, always subject to the restraints and coercions of his caretakers who, unintentionally but effectively, may rob him of his native courage and undermine his shaky self-confidence.

Stunting Identity

Not infrequently the child is exposed to unceasing efforts of his parents to mold him into the kind of child they desire and expect him to become, thereby ignoring and often frustrating what he may need, require and feel and, by so much, confusing his efforts to establish his own identity. As he becomes mobile and begins to explore his small world, he may be continually blocked, scolded and even punished for his curiosity and his impulsive activity, being told that he is "bad" and treated as unacceptable or rejected. From these verbalized statements about him, often colored with strong parental feelings, the child begins to develop an image of the self as symbolized by *I*, *me*, *my* and *mine*, frequently with feelings of anxiety, shame, guilt, resentment and hostility.

It is astonishing how many young children develop a negative image of the self, having been told frequently that they are "bad," "wicked" and "sinful," deserving immediate or deferred punishment for their naive impulsive behavior. Whatever they do or fail to do is interpreted as an expression of their evil human nature. Accordingly, they begin to view the world as a hostile place in which they can have no confidence, no *basic trust*, as Erikson terms it. Thus early in life many already are self-defeated and feel alienated from a world in which they cannot achieve an identity consonant with their capacities and their aspirations.

The more adverse and demoralizing are his family life and neighborhood, the more often his identity may be stunted or distorted. Occasionally a child may react positively against such handicaps, especially if and when encouraged by someone who evokes his potentialities and helps him to believe in himself. How frequently children encounter these adverse conditions is shown by the familiar childhood statements—"Wait 'till I grow up, I'll show 'em" or "When I grow up, I'll get even"—which often become lifelong strivings for power, prestige or wealth, although infrequently achieved.

Role Playing According to Expectations

The child's identity, his image of the self, is given him not only by his name but also by the various roles and relations expected of a boy or a girl, a son or a daughter, a brother or a sister, a nephew or a niece, a cousin, a grandchild, a playmate or a pupil in a school. He is continuously addressed or called by his name and alerted to these ascribed roles and expected to perform what each requires in speech, action and feelings, even if simulated. As he grows older, the child looks to those outside his family for models of what he can and should do to cope with the world. Thus he may attempt to copy what others do and say, not to become a replica of those he wishes to emulate. Rarely does he want to be another person, giving up his own identity, seeking rather to borrow and display some admired or feared pattern exhibited by another person which he may display only for a brief period.

Many of the child's models come from stories, plays, poetry, radio, movies, TV, comics and illustrated journals which provide what individuals fantasy and daydream about in their private worlds which they so carefully guard from discovery by others.

All through life a person faces the persistent question of "Who am I?" In a stable intact culture he may rarely be perplexed about his identity, finding models for his emulation in his own parents. But today the traditional roles and relations by which people have made their lives more or less orderly and purposeful have become increasingly uncertain and frustrating. Young children feel this confusion and anxiety in adults and resonate to the social disorder and widespread anxiety by a variety of personal problems and misbehavior.

Communicating Through Many Media

In the child's private world he continually talks to himself in his inner speech—rehearsing what he has experienced, especially what he has observed but could not understand, explaining to himself and rationalizing what he has done or failed to do, and planning what he hopes and expects to do in the future. The center of his private world, the core of his personality, is his image of the self, his identity which he strives to maintain at whatever cost to himself and others. While he "can't or won't say" what he may think and feel about himself, he may through his creative activities, playing, drawing, painting, modeling and spontaneous dramatizations communicate to those who are alert and sensitive to these often disguised cries for help.

Some years ago the late James S. Plant pointed out that in our culture everyone has two lifelong needs: (1) the need for *whoness*—to be recognized as a person, to be liked and if fortunate loved; (2) the need for *whatness*—to be admired, approved for what one can achieve. Those who have been denied whoness often turn to an obsessive striving for whatness, seeking status, power or property for the whoness they have missed.

With the increasing pressure for academic achievement, early childhood education has an immense opportunity and equally great responsibility to help children develop a positive image of the self, to establish an identity as individual personalities congruent with enduring goal values: respect for the worth of the individual and recognition of human dignity. We should help young children to love themselves and thereby become capable of loving and cherishing others.

Conflict as Viewed by Children

MARY B. LANE

"WE HOPE each child would have learned to be reasonably secure in a world which he knew he could never control, never really completely understand, and never predict the future of with confidence."[1]

So stated a report made to the California State Board of Education in November 1971 by its Task Force on Early Education. When I first read these words, my reaction was, "Impossible!" Then I realized that I was viewing the statement through adult eyes. To a child, however, *everything is still possible.* Mother and Father are omnipotent. Today's wishes can become tomorrow's realities. The child feels that he can be in control of his world, indeed of the whole universe.

This essential difference between children and adults must be clearly understood if we are to view conflict as children do. It explains why so many children can come to maturity still sound and whole (integrated beings) in spite of the critically ill world in which they grow to maturity.

The fact that children are ego-centered enables them to push aside considerations of "What will Jamey think?" "How will Harriet feel?" It also helps them minimize obstacles that exist between their present state and a desired outcome.

Although conflicts as experienced by children do not come neatly labeled or differentiated, it may help us to classify the sources of conflict according to: (1) those emanating from children's egocentricity; (2) those imposed upon them by society or by adults. Children's coping strategies differ, depending on the source.

CONFLICTS GROWING OUT OF EGOCENTRICITY

In a number of situations the child is expected to give up some of his wishes in order to provide for the well-being of others. Perhaps he is asked to share a favorite toy, or to share his parents with a newborn baby, or to delay his own gratification until an adult has time to help him.

Such conflicts are symptoms of a child's growing autonomy and must be handled with finesse. An authoritarian attitude toward a child who is seeking to establish his own sense of self (at age two, three or four) may damage him irreparably. Thus it becomes crucial for all caretakers of children—parents, teachers, pediatricians, social workers, and others—to recognize the developmental stages of growth and to cultivate positive attitudes toward those behaviors that may seem to be troublesome to adults.

The Early Months

The ability to "let go" develops slowly in the human race. A baby has to learn to let go literally. Mothers frequently are not ready to let go at the time their children are pressing for more freedom. The resulting conflict begins subtly. Mother turns the child's head to the right. Baby turns his head back to the left. Mother puts the baby down for a nap. Baby pulls himself up in his crib and gives a lusty yell. Although we seldom think of the early months as representing periods of conflict between mother and children, they are times when the baby is beginning to feel himself as an individual with basic needs, drives, desires which may be different from his mother's.

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[1] Task Force Report on Early Education, State Board of Education, Sacramento, Calif., Nov. 1971.

Here is a welcome developmental approach toward helping our children "growing up in a sick, sick society" to develop "some coping strategies that will protect them and at the same time help them to understand the need for these strategies."

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Troubles of Toddlerhood

And then baby becomes a walker and a climber—in short, a toddler. Almost overnight everything in the baby's path is endangered. So is his own person. While the baby's interaction with objects he encounters is necessary for his intellectual and emotional development, his behavior results in conflict within himself. His autonomy may well be threatened unless the adults in his life recognize his need to assert impulses.

At this stage *preventive planning* is the most successful coping strategy. The house is baby-proofed, but not in such a way that baby lacks stimulation. The Dresden china is replaced by colorful plastic cubes or interlocking blocks. Those items that find themselves in the mouth are kept out-of-reach and out-of-sight. Yet many objects are available for the child to pick up, let go, stack, sort and handle.

Some portions of the house may be off-limits, except on rare occasions. Primary means of handling conflict at this stage are to: (1) keep the number of adult-imposed prohibitions to a minimum; (2) accompany the prohibitions with many attractive alternatives, so as to avoid an authoritarian posture; (3) verbalize the reasons for the prohibitions simply, clearly, briefly.

Challenges by Threes and Fours

As the child approaches three- and a-half or four, he begins to take real delight in challenging adults. He has acquired enough language to be able to "tell Mother off." He is sure enough of his navigation to find wandering a pleasure. His sense of self is well enough formed to impel him to become a social being. These characteristics are all sources of potential conflict.

—Donna J. Harris, The Merrill-Palmer Institute, Detroit

His acquisition of language has outdistanced his sense of discrimination, which leads to the question of appropriateness. It is not at all unusual for a three- or four-year-old to tell Mother to "shut up" at a time when Mother wishes to look good before her friends. Such a comment by my son once induced me to respond in anger, "Don't you ever tell me to shut up again!" Needless to say, I struggled with "shut up" for one year before my boy gave up in trying to get a rise out of me.

Nearly all adults who deal with children are, I believe, concerned at some point about the language children use. Even those who profess to be liberated experience anxiety for one reason or another. Our anxieties are communicated to children, and we have the makings of a conflict situation that can be damaging. Jay, a seven-year-old I know well, was taking great delight in using the word "fuck." His wise companion countered one outburst with, "You know, Jay, there are no bad words!" That took all the steam out of Jay's use of the word. I wish we adults might have the same composure and matter-of-factness as we cope with what we label "bad language."

How to cope with inappropriate language? I find two approaches helpful. Remember that when an adult gets in a conflict with a youngster, the youngster almost always wins. Remember also that efforts to stamp out inappropriate language usually result in prolonging it. And yet just a few years ago a great university was torn apart by the establishment's efforts to punish those who were not offended by the use of four-letter words!

Tolerance but Disapproval

One wise psychologist[2] says that we adults must tolerate much behavior at the same time we let the young know we do not approve of it. Much of the behavior of the preschooler falls in this category. Our best coping strategy is often one of recognizing that "this, too, shall pass away." We need, however, to discern behavior that is potentially pathological, and, if it becomes prolonged, to seek the appropriate help. The implication is that we see behavior as caused. We do not tolerate a punitive attitude toward children.

CONFLICTS GROWING OUT OF SOCIETY

Children today are growing up in a sick, sick society: they have never known peace; other children of the world die in their rooms each night at newstime. They cannot avoid violence. Their ears are accustomed to police sirens, their eyes to flashing lights. They recognize the sound of helicopters scanning roof tops for run-away robbers. As one of my dear friends who had been mugged twice said, "there is no place to hide."

"Why Did He Hit Me?"

Let us consider a few firsthand illustrations that come from school-age children. My own son was frightened to go to his first-grade school because a big boy in the neighborhood told him he would be beaten up when he got there. San Francisco has had a year of integration and many perceptions have been changed during that year. Children are learning to enjoy each other and some of their parents recognize we are all human beings. Still, many confusing, conflicting events occur. The other day my boy was walking in the park when a boy on a bicycle threw out his arm and hit him in the eye. How was I to answer his question, "Mom, why did he hit me? I hadn't done anything to him."

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[2] Fritz Redl in conversation with writer.

In many urban elementary schools, it is unwise for children to go to the bathroom alone. What an infringement upon personal freedom to have to have someone accompany you to the bathroom! Many children are having their lunch money extorted from them before they spend it. And even in elementary schools, drug traffic exists.

Developing Coping Strategies

I am not ready to accept the solution of complete regimentation or Big Brother Camera recording one's every movement.

It seems to me that in cases such as those I've been describing, in which personal safety and welfare are at stake, we have to teach our children some coping strategies that will protect them and at the same time help them understand the need for these strategies.

Children understand far more than we give them credit for. If we parents and teachers are honest with them in presenting the situations; if we are consistent in our support of our children, all of our children; if they are able to perceive that we have courage, that we are fair, that we can cope—then I believe we can live through these conflicts and become stronger, more purposeful and more empathetic people.

The need is for caring and wise adults who are themselves "all together." Moralistic judgments, bitterness, anger, retaliation, fear or withdrawal are of no value.

Children of school age can participate in family or class discussions about the problems people face in this neighborhood or in this school and help make decisions about what should be done. If children are given a chance to help in the problem-solving, we may find more creative solutions than if we adults impose the solutions.

Eliminating institutionalized racism in the United States poses enormous conflicts for adults—teachers as well as other adults. As a school system, we must recognize this fact and provide help for teachers in learning to understand and cope with a variety of life-styles, a wide spectrum of behaviors. It does no good to *blame* a white middle-income, middle-aged female teacher for not knowing how to cope with a black, low-income youth if no one has helped her. The inservice education of the seventies would do well to focus extensively upon self-understanding, human relations, group dynamics and cultural anthropology.

The insights, feelings and understandings coming from these areas are needed by most of us today in order to cope effectively with our overwhelming problems. Given adults with these understandings, insights and feelings, I am optimistic that the hope with which I started this paper may be realized.

To Love and Be Loved

We can all have great confidence in children's sense of fairness, their incontestable logic, their straightforwardness if only we give them an opportunity to employ these qualities in solving their problems. In the words of Howard A. Lane:

> We have of late learned much about the needs of the human being, of his basic urges and gratifications, of his dependable dispositions, of his tendencies toward independence and uniqueness. As a creature he needs food, shelter, rest, activity. But he also needs friendship, to love and be loved; to be worth something to other people, to be appreciated; to respect himself—ivy, pups or babies; to hold in his hands the results of his handiwork and call them good; to be captain of his own soul; to feel deeply the wholeness of his relationships with life. Only then may he say he is mature.[3]

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[3] Howard A. Lane, *On Educating Human Beings* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1964), p. 141.

Challenging Language Experiences

The Project Approach vs. "Reeling and Writhing"*

Shirley Koeller

LANGUAGE-EXPERIENCE proponents argue that a young child best learns writing/reading skills naturally and together by communicating personal interests in discussion-dictation-recording-reading cycles. A recent crosscultural study (Ollila, Mayfield and Williams, 1982) supporting this argument reveals that 6-year-olds in England, Canada and the United States differ widely in their writing; that British children schooled in a language-experience approach write three times as much and with higher syntactic maturity than American children; and that a language-experience approach highlighting the close relationship between writing/reading where children have frequent, early opportunities "to experiment with forming their own letters, words, and sentences . . . provides an impetus for reading not possible by reading instruction alone" (p. 16). Ollila et al. speculate that the writing superiority of British children may result from their writing at an early age in classrooms where more time is devoted to writing.[1] They state that:

> In the schools that the British children attended in the study there was not a formal writing program. They used a language-experience type approach to the beginning of the use of written language and this work was based entirely on individual interests. In the English schools the children are expected to start some written work as soon as they enter school at 4+ years though for most children this would be very elementary and well supported with readiness activities. The children at 5 to 7+ years would be writing from one to three hours per week in the schools that took part in this study (p. 17).

Ollila et al. note that all young writers in their study received the same stimulus and directions, but the British children evidenced superior writing ability—an important skill for "articulate, literate citizens."[2] The purpose of this article, impelled by Ollila et al.'s findings, is to review selected exemplary British projects (Haggitt, 1975) in order to analyze how teachers use the project approach to encourage and sustain language experiences. Several projects (Haggitt, 1975) are presented which illustrate *how* to 1) join writing/reading to listening/speaking and imagining/learning; 2) provide extensive, rich life experiences; 3) bridge a child's world to school and outer worlds—in short, how to "teach" communicative skills so that children understand, learn and use these skills as naturally as they earlier learned to listen and speak.

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[1] Ollila et al. also found noticeable differences in the writing-paper size used by children in their study: In the U.S., pupils formed large letters on "primary paper" while British children used narrow-lined paper. These researchers speculate that one factor affecting "flow of thought and willingness to write longer passages" may be the time pupils spend forming larger letters on oversized lines.

[2] *Articulate* comes from the Latin word *articulare*, which means to join; *literate* means "educated, especially able to read and write, having or showing extensive knowledge, experience, or culture" (*Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary*, unabridged 2nd ed., 1979). These are interesting definitions, suggesting to me the need for relevant but extensive writing/reading experiences about all manner of life events. Perhaps the result of narrow, disjointed writing/reading experience is "reeling and writhing" or worse: Paterson (1982) warns that, unless Spot stops running, he will kill off another generation of readers.

**Alice in Wonderland*

The Project Approach

Haggitt emphasizes the importance of children discovering their interests and recording their investigations in projects where learning coalesces around central themes or ideas. She advises teachers to brainstorm for project activities by jotting down a theme and the connections that come to mind about that theme. These connections are the logical ones children, too, will make. While no single theme equally covers each subject area, themes do provide extensive communication activities; opportunities to learn and practice language and other skills; and choices for expressive work, sharing and experiences. As children explore a theme, they make numerous discoveries that cross many subjects. Child-centered discussions about these discoveries, followed by recording the discoveries in words, sentences and passages, characterize every project. Children thus write/read at every opportunity. There are multiple ways of assessing each child's daily language and other progress: some children read primers during scheduled times; vocabulary flashcards are everywhere in evidence; art is always accompanied by sentences narrating the picture story; teacher conversations with children are commonplace.

In every project, literature abounds. Children continuously hear and read theme-related stories, poems and reference books. In a project entitled *Houses*, for example, the teacher read from *Peter Pan* to tell how the Lost Boys built the first Wendy House. In the Christmas Pudding project, the teacher read Dickens' description of the Cratchit's Christmas pudding. Haggitt believes that it is not necessary to always read a whole book. What *is* important is that teachers have many literature sources for reading aloud, for referencing and for self-chosen reading. Indeed, Haggitt's account of each exemplary project is followed by an extensive listing of literature suggestions because *wide* reading of delightful, intriguing books is basic to the success of this approach.

Joining Speaking/Listening to Writing/Reading

Children's real-world, after-school and weekend experiences — rich life sources of concepts and vocabulary — become classroom discussion, art, dance and writing/reading encounters, as described by Haggitt (1975) who tells what happened when a child brought purple flowers to school:

> [Cynthia] brought to school a spray of some species of climbing vetch which had spiral tendrils on it. The class discussed the use of these tendrils and why they were this shape. The teacher asked the class to keep an eye open for other spiral shapes in nature and in man-made objects . . . the teacher showed the class how to cut a spiral from a circle. These were decorated with writing patterns or words about spirals and hung up in the classroom as mobiles. Discussion about these shapes elicited the response that perhaps spirals were circles moving through time and space.
>
> During the next few days, children brought in screws (which provided thought for a lesson on slopes), a fir-cone, a head of sunflower seeds and shells (which provoked discussion on growth). The children looked for growth lines on snail shells. The teacher mentioned the double helix, the shape of DNA, and would willingly have left the subject there, but spirals cropped up in paintings, in dance, and in writing for several months after this (p. 99).

Child-selected show-and-tell discussions preview potential writing/reading topics. Many of Haggitt's projects result from show-and-tell objects brought to school by young children:

□ After Mary brought a feather to school, the teacher asked the class to collect feathers. These were first sorted into stiff, hard and half-and-half categories, and later categorized into flight feathers, down feathers and coverts when the pupils learned how feathers were arranged on a bird's wing. Children made block graphs of feather categories; painted with feathers; labeled their pictures with words like *plumage, down, coverts, flight;* and consulted available reference books to identify and find out about birds visiting their school playground.

□ When Jimmy showed a stone in school, the teacher wrote "Jimmy's stone is hard and smooth" and sent a group to the playground to find hard and smooth, hard and rough, and crumbly stones, which were labeled and later weighed in math lessons to record such discoveries as "three stones weigh as much as ten shells."

Utilization of real-world interests is educationally sound, Haggitt insists, because it lessens "the children's dependence on the teacher as a source of knowledge and inspiration and [develops] the children's initiative" (p. 52). In their exemplary textbook, Moffett and Wagner (1976) strongly advocate this kind of student-centered approach to schoolroom language experiences. Graves (1981) concurs, insisting that young writers need time to confront their own problems and ask their own questions as they learn skills in the context of these problems and questions. He finds that a good writing class exposes children's interests, fosters writing choices and encourages brainstorming discussions for endless other spin-off writing topics. He believes that children write when "the teaching environment interacts with the child to activate development" (p. 60).

Others (Siegel, 1980; Graves, 1981) stress that it is an easy step from discussion to writing/reading. Siegel (1980) describes a sequence of beginning 1st-grade writing which starts with transcribing the child's discussion and dictation. Copying follows dictation, and pupils quickly complete a dictation-copying-writing sequence if their encoding efforts are encouraged and displayed. Graves (in Walshe, 1981) lists numerous ways that children progress from discussion to encoding. Children, he says, "can learn through a mother's haphazard, play-like demonstrations; or Sylvia Ashton-Warner's 'Keywords' scheme; or the Language-Experience school's 'scribing'; or Marie Clay's progression from 'scribble' to print" (p. 10). He prefers the approach of encouraging children to invent their own spellings, because his evidence is "that children can write using invented spellings 'so long as we provide them with six consonants, any six.' " In a few months many proceed from a single L to represent 'liked' to, e.g., LK-LKT-LOKT-LKET-LIKT-LIKD-LIKED" (p. 10). He states that *all* children believe they can write, and when a 1st-grade teacher invited her beginning first-day class to "Write!" everybody did, even though 30 percent of them lacked preschool experience.

Relating to Children's Experiences

Whatever the child's age, his/her worldly experiences should be discussed, written and read. Bissex (1982) states that the teacher's role is to help pupils "discover" these experiences—which life, not the teacher, replenishes; teachers *relate* a child's experiences to the past, present and future, in and out of the classroom. But the key, Egan (1982) cautions, is to equate relevance with concepts, not content. The curriculum, he says, must never be filled only with a child's daily experiences, but must allow new and very different content to galvanize imagination and understanding. Neither must the curriculum be filled only with what children want: Paterson (1982) implores us to realize that if we give children only what they want, we condemn them to adolescence forever.

Haggitt's projects relate children's experiences and background, their direct observations, their research in books and what they bring to school to other relevant concepts and meaningful content at all age levels. For example, in the *Houses* project, young children made a school area map; then they were grouped by their own streets to paint the front-view shapes of their houses for this map. Children wrote their names, house numbers and addresses on these shapes, along with sentence labels such as "Mary's house has four big windows at the front" (p. 18). Children gathered evidence of trees, shops, churches and pillarboxes to add to this map. Then they counted the number of rooms in their houses and made floor plans of these. The teacher wrote the numbers 3 to 7 on the wall, and the children pinned their floorplans under the appropriate number. Magazine and other illustrations of houses were sorted by children into those most like their own. Children wrote their names on a picture most resembling their own house, and this was placed under an appropriately labeled picture-graph wall display showing that "seven children lived in flats, eight in maisonettes, nineteen in houses with gardens, and one boy lived in a caravan" (p. 18). Those children writing to learn and explain picture-graph information in expository paragraphs are sustaining understanding of writing, reading and mathematics.

In a project entitled "Containers," young children filled containers with sand to answer the question, "What shape is the sand in that box?" (p. 7). To introduce the idea of overlapping sets, children experimented to make four collections of containers that would/would not hold water, and those that would/would not hold sand. Then they made specialized counts of school traffic goods-holding vehicles which they graphed to explain "lorries carrying gravel, lorries carrying boxes, lorries carrying metal, petrol tankers, tankers for other liquids" (p. 9).

Youngsters continued experimentation with capacity measures to discover which containers made the largest sand piles, and they weighed the filled containers to compare piles by weight as well as height and base width. A child discovered that drawing around the containers produced circles of different sizes, prompting the teacher to show her how to compare the circle sizes by folding circle shapes to get diameters and how to record this information on labels to attach to the cut-outs. Children writing/reading summaries of their experiences and explanations of their "findings" unify their classroom understandings.

A project for 8- and 9-year-olds produced a class-written newspaper after extensive research about newspapers and printing. Children graphed newspaper statistics to show temperature and rainfall in various English, European and North American towns. Children made letter counts, recorded their counts as block graphs, discussed the frequency of letter use, and compared their counts to boxes of metal type supplied to amateur printers as specified in classroom catalogues. They counted newspaper columns of equal size to study proportion, explored the reasons for noted differences, and examined newspaper alphabets to discover that three or four different alphabets (distinguished by the shape and size of both the upper and the lower case "o" and "x") could appear on a single page. They noted and recorded the relationships between upper and lower case letters, letter widths, and spaces between words in the various alphabets.

Children investigated readership by analyzing the largest front-page headline in one issue, "the front-page eye-catcher" (distinguished by its potential to attract people to buy the newspaper from a newsstand). They investigated other questions: the number and type of advertisements and the audience for these; the amount and type of world news, home news, financial affairs and domestic affairs. One 9-year-old child summarized his statistical findings to write that:

> A lot of men buy the *Daily Mirror* because of the front-page eye-catcher and the advertisements are mainly for mothers and children. Men who bet turn to the Sports page and the man who is not interested in foreign news but only interested in national news buys the *Daily Mirror* (p. 110).

Projects connecting language experiences to familiar concepts and popular interests in unexpected but relevant ways challenge older pupils, too, as illustrated by Haggitt's building project where pupils made scale models. Pupils first estimated (paces, lengths of bricks) to find diverse ways to make linear measures of buildings, rivers, canals, locks, etc., and tested these estimations. They discussed which instrument best reduced margin of error for the job and which required the minimum number of measurements. For regular shapes, such as symmetrical houses, pupils made scale ground plans. For more complicated buildings, pupils viewed these as a series of regular shapes to be measured. To measure heights of buildings, pupils estimated their own heights compared to building heights. Then they counted the number of stories and compared known heights, such as doors, to building heights. They explored triangulation by using 45-degree angles and clinometers and by comparing shadows with known lengths; e.g., shadow of a yardstick.

The extensive discussion about surveying in this project included panoramic surveys from tops of hills and in the middle of fields so that pupils could make accurate ground plans and scale models. Pupils investigated depths of rivers at various points, speeds of river currents, volumes of water in full locks, descents of canals, and gradients of hills and railways. They made plant and worm counts after taking random samples of fields. They wrote to chart weather and temperature over time in varied settings (under trees, in full sunlight, on hills, in valleys, etc.).

These brief descriptions of Haggitt's British projects illustrate that language experiences are deliberately nourished, not magically developed. Children acquire language skills and conceptual knowledge as they continuously *communicate* about and connect their own prerequisite experiences to related later but new, unexpected, exotic and perhaps previously unimagined experiences (Egan, 1982). The goal of these projects is not to expect that little children are quasi-adults whom teachers must push rapidly into academics, but rather that teachers help children preserve genuine, compelling interests in and positive attitudes toward learning.

Conclusion

This article describes writing/reading experiences in projects that stretch conceptual understandings. Children who talk, write and read their relevant experiences sense the interrelatedness of these communication skills and also the bridge between their everyday experiences, new experiences and more challenging language experiences. "Run, Spot, Run!" programs that provide drill and practice, formulas and patterns can be helpful reading sources for learners. But used exclusively, such programs may hinder a child's making sensible connections to his/her personal worlds and concepts. The project approach offers opportunities to connect language experiences and content to child-selected themes. Haggitt's projects provide abundant applicative experiences about which children communicate in exciting ways; thus, this approach deserves consideration when writing/reading activities for children are planned.

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An experienced teacher of non-English-speaking children offers some firsthand observations of great significance to those who believe in valuing diversity.

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The Spanish-speaking Five-year-old

Betty L. Broman

How do children learn? What are children learning? How do teachers know that children are learning? These questions, which have fascinated people for many years, pertain to what education is all about; and to answer them, children's actions, both physical and oral, must be observed. The findings of the observations must then be used to develop programs that help children learn.

A current crucial educational problem is to identify good learning situations for the many non-English-speaking children in our English-speaking schools. In parts of the United States large groups of Spanish-speaking children—Mexican-American, Cuban, Puerto Rican and others—enter our school systems and are often placed with teachers who speak only English. For a bilingual child the transfer from the Spanish-speaking home to an English-speaking school presents little difficulty. But the child speaking only Spanish in a school limited to English is so frustrated and confused that he often fails.

Some educators contend that when classrooms having some bilingual students are staffed with either or both a teacher and an aide who speak Spanish, the children learn approximately at the same rate as do other randomly selected groups of children.

To test this hypothesis, the author observed four public kindergarten classes where the children ranged in ages from 4.9 to 5.6. In two classrooms the teacher and the aide were bilingual; in one classroom the teacher and the aide spoke limited Spanish; and in the fourth the teacher spoke "pure" Spanish and the aide spoke Spanish in the local dialect. Over 200 observations were recorded in these classrooms.

What happened? The native Spanish-speaking children learned the skills and content that English-speaking children learn in a developmental program when permitted to find their own media of learning and to use it. All of the children did not learn at the same rate, nor did they use the skills and content learned with the same ease, nor did they all know the content of what was taught with equal understanding. They varied in their abilities just as other children do.

The Bilingual Child

How do bilingual children learn? Manuel and Michail demonstrated two ways:

☐ During a free play period Manuel, knowing English words for only three colors, selected a bright purple disk from the counting set and asked the teacher's aide the English term for the color. Manuel took the disk to a friend sitting at the same table and spoke the color "name" in English. He then put the disk in his pocket, while looking for a puzzle. Later

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—Michael D. Sullivan, Washington, D. C.

he took the disk to the teacher, told her the color in English, put the disk in his left hand and got a drink of water. After the drink Manuel went to the boys in the block corner where, speaking in Spanish except for the word "purple," he showed them the disk. He placed the purple disk in the small dump truck and left it there. Later in the day when the teacher was preparing for an art class by asking each child to select a sheet of construction paper by color in English, Manuel asked for "a purple."

□ During a math class, as the children were taking turns counting different sets of supplies in the room (paint brushes; jars of paint and paste; boxes of paper, puzzles, crayons, chalk, clay and games), Michail's turn came. He counted the eleven rubber farm animals "one" to "six" in English and "siete" to "once" in Spanish.

The Spanish-speaking Child

How do Spanish-speaking children learn? The following examples of three children trying to follow directions given in English provide clues.

Samuel had great difficulty following directions in English. When he left his snack paper on the table, the teacher called to him in English, pointed to the paper and told him to throw it in the wastepaper basket. Dutifully, Samuel returned to the table and picked up the paper but stood there holding it until the teacher told another child to throw a paper away. When the other child threw his paper into the wastepaper basket, Samuel did also and hurried off to play.

Other examples of learning to follow directions were exhibited by Julia and Ezekial. Julia, who didn't understand the teacher's request in English for the group to sit on the rug, looked at several children until she saw a boy moving. She watched him until he sat down on the rug. She then looked at other children, and when several had sat on the rug she did too. Each time the class participated in a group activity, Ezekial sat or stood near Susie. Whenever the teacher gave directions or conducted a discussion in English, Ezekial questioned Susie in Spanish about the meaning of the English. Ezekial never asked the teacher or aide a question but always completed the task and joined in the activity.

Children Becoming Bilingual

Bertha, Cindy and Paul provided more useful observations.

Every morning for four days during the milk break, Bertha sat near the teacher and stared at the teacher's lips as the whole class counted the milk cartons in English. Each time the teacher said a number, Bertha formed the word with her own lips but never said the number aloud. On Friday Bertha stood by the tray of cartons, pointing to each as she counted in Spanish. When the teacher gathered the children around her and counted the milk cartons, Bertha said each number very clearly in English.

The beautiful trade books now available interest all children, but if the books are read only in English the Spanish child often loses the rich meaning of the story. Cindy solved this problem in a simple way. Selecting a book from the bookshelf, she took it to the housekeeping center, sat in the rocking chair and looked at the pictures three times. She then took the book to the aide and talked to her in Spanish about the pictures. The aide told her the story in Spanish. Cindy took the book to a table and looked at the pictures and told herself the story in Spanish and English.

Another skill, comprehending new words (whether spoken in Spanish or English) is important for participation in regular classroom activities—as Paul demonstrated. Paul sat at the puzzle table watching Freddy work a puzzle. When the teacher asked Paul if he would like to work a puzzle, Paul did not respond. The teacher picked up a puzzle and said in Spanish, "Would you like to do this?" Paul smiled and said "Yes" in English. The teacher sat beside him and praised his success as he completed the puzzle. Paul completed several puzzles and each time took the puzzle to the teacher or the aide to get approval.

Summary

In all the cited observations the children learned because they were able to talk to other children or to the teacher, they were allowed to move freely around the room at intervals during the day, they were given sufficient time for responding, they always could verify in Spanish the concept given in English, and they had an opportunity to repeat each activity until satisfied with the results.

Would these children have learned equally well in a highly structured classroom where children are not permitted to talk, move about or continue an activity, and where bilingualism is not accepted as a good way to learn and teach? Children learn happily by talking, questioning and doing. Especially if they are allowed to use their native language in an accepted, positive manner.

The Hidden Dimensions of Art

Bruce Klein

ART PROGRAMS typically stress that art raises levels of self-esteem through creative self-expression. School curricula use art to improve cognitive learning and problem-solving abilities. Yet many programs overlook the hidden dimensions of art: the social dimensions for fostering program goals. In a program with preschool children, I have been using four social dimensions of art to heighten aesthetic perception, improve artistic creativity and nurture self-esteem: children having power, children acting on norms legitimate in their own eyes, children functioning nonestrangedly, and children engaging in meaningful behavior. Taken from alienation research (Blauner, 1964), these dimensions help locate social relations that foster program goals.

My art classes are small, last an hour and occur in a separate art room. Three days a week in six-week cycles, I work side by side with the children, explaining art projects as well as offering guidance and encouragement toward self-expression. The central activity is creative self-expression in the visual arts: painting, printmaking, bookmaking and sculpture. The classroom has easels, low tables and a series of self-select art activity modules. In these classes I attempt to help children discover their inner voices, to journey with them in the delicate shaping of their own individuality. Each dimension discussed here fosters these goals.

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Children Having Actual Power

Children need power. How often do we hear children say, "Let me do it, let me do it"? These words indicate important needs for self-competence and mastery. In the artistic process, giving a child control means letting the child control four decisions: choosing the art problem to work on, the means to accomplish it, the criteria for successful completion and the pace of the process.

Children vary in their response to having control over any one or all of these decisions. For example, Robert is very sensitive to stimulation. The viscosity of the thick paint, the quickness of the brush across the paper, the visual excitement of bright colors overload him. Given control, he loses control of pacing. His vulnerability is such that he must choose art activities that don't overload him. With the other decisions, he copes beautifuly. Jaraubi initially withdraws until he figures the situation out; then his resilience, intelligence and delight in the sensuality of art evoke inventive manipulation and explorative curiosity.

When the skill demands of an art task are beyond their ability, children may lack coordination or strength or experience difficulty with a particular concept. Children have control when they can pace the artistic process to their individual needs, when

Photograph by Dorothy J. Mugge, Chambersburg, PA

they can stop and ask for help. Like Robert, they can assess their resources and abandon an overwhelming activity for one they can successfully complete.

The development of individual style also demands control over the artistic process, which includes time to putter and experiment. Pressure to paint cannot become excessive. If a child does not want to paint, the child may pick an alternative activity. If a child does not want to do art, he or she may leave. Or a child may simply need the day off. In the art room and in art activities, children need control to see the effects of their actions in their immediate artistic process. This enhances their self-esteem.

If children have control over the artistic process, they also have responsibility for parts of it and for their classroom behavior. In the classroom there are limits. I discourage teacher-influenced art and the use of prepacked art projects, avoiding an excessive crafts orientation to art activities. I also set limits on classroom behavior; i.e., nonviolence, an interest in art and proper behavior. For example, Brian is very aggressive. Once, while limit-testing, I had to dismiss the class until he cleaned up his mess. Afterward Brian became so enraged that he sat outside the art room and glared. In a few days we were friends again. Setting limits is as important as granting control in the lives of children.

Finally, children need to know that they can participate in the decision to come to art class. When, for example, a child asks me during lunch if he or she can spend extra time in art, I try to arrange it.

In the classroom I prefigure the art activity by offering a planned activity. As a professional artist I share with children the joy and mystery I find in painting. But I am very open to particular class-day needs and share the process of activity selection with children. The final direction the activity takes typically results from interaction between children's interests and ideas and my guidance. This mixed locus of control over activity selection reflects in part a precaution against the unquestioning acceptance of the open classroom philosophy Gatewood (1975) cautions about in reviewing the effectiveness of open classroom environments.

If children need control over (and responsibility for) the artistic process, they also need limited control over the immediate artistic environment. They need, for example, to decorate the art room walls with their art and to have eye-level display boards for their art. I allow children to arrange the physical space to encourage intimacy, solitary play and social interaction. When children have actual power over the immediate conditions of the art room and over the immediate process, they are able to see themselves as persons who effect changes in their lives.

Children Acting with Meaning and Purpose in Painting

Meaning and purpose have their origins in part within the dynamics of information-processing within the child, in part within the relationship of the child to the artistic environment.

Epistemic behaviors arouse children (Berlyne, 1960), who need to find art novel and exciting. Their intellect needs challenge; they enjoy complex art activities as well as uncertainty and risk. For example, with hot plate crayon printing nursery through kindergarten children draw with crayons on a hot plate covered with aluminum foil; the crayon melts into a wax residue. The risk of burning their eager fingers focuses their attention.

Crayon printing is complex. Arkes and Boykin (1971) found that, under certain conditions, stimulus complexity determines children's preference responsiveness and helps sustain their responsiveness. If children can follow the activity from setting up the hot plate through actually doing the work and pasting the finished print in the book for display, the fractionalization of their understanding is reduced.

Understanding the entire process also gives children a picture of where they fit into the whole process. When they see their work on display in art shows, they recognize it as uniquely their own, thus preserving the relationship between the child as artist and the product.

Having power and a non-fractionalized understanding reduces fearfulness and increases security. Children understand most artistic processes going on around them. If they see someone trying something they do not understand, they know they can try it. Trying many activities broadens their understanding and raises the range of their particular artistic skills.

If power increases children's sense of competence and if meaningful activities nurture their self-esteem, the last two dimensions examined here improve their sense of social competency and help raise their level of self-actualization.

Children's Norms, Social Isolation and Being an Artist

Little social isolation exists in my classes. As children paint, laughing, joking and sharing develop. Children look at and comment on each other's work: excitement builds in bookmaking; wild enthusiasm occurs in painting monsters; friendships and mutual cooperation develop in pursuing special projects.

This climate for open communication is a function of at least three variables: 1) the conception of art, 2) the reinforcement of the impact of art and 3) the legitimizing of their effects. Since I view art as a noncompetitive self-expressive activity, no normative order develops in the classroom around one conception of art as best; no "pecking order" develops over which children best fulfill that particular image of "artistic" development. In acknowledging everyone as an artist and as equal, informal favorites and status hierarchies are avoided. Sennett and Cobb (1972) describe the destructive impact of these hierarchies on children's perception of themselves as artists and upon their artistic abilities.

The teacher can reinforce the impact of art on children in several ways. On a one-to-one basis, a judicious use of praise fosters dignity. At the end of each teaching cycle, I meet with each child individually and review, talk about and praise the child's artistic production. As one child said, "Boy, I didn't know I could do that much." Finally, every child's work is displayed in the art show.

On a group class level, I employ different tactics. A quiet time precedes many classes, during which we often pin up art. The first time the children watched wide-eyed in wonderment. As I pinned up their work, I talked about the mysterious color in this one, the wonderful shapes in that one. I then asked each child to point out his or her art and encouraged the child to talk about it. Each time a child talked, we clapped. Soon putting up art seemed natural.

In class I allow no emotionally disparaging remarks about another's work. When it happens I stop and ask the child about the remark. As the creative momentum builds within each class, I work very hard to maintain the "charged atmosphere" around exciting artistic activity, an atmosphere that helps motivate children. I also allow for small "face-to-face" groups, which encourage intimacy. Internal disruptions are quickly isolated and handled carefully.

While social isolation is discouraged, space for "solitary play" is encouraged. A special booth in the classroom allows for solitary play. Children can arrange the chairs and tables to encourage intimacy or to facilitate work on individual art projects. Strom (1976) and Singer (1973) discuss the merits of solitary play.

Finally, the teacher legitimizes the effect of art. As children talk before the class about their art, show their art in class, and hear their teachers and peers talk about their art, they begin to take on a "public identity" as artistic. These new feelings and behaviors are legitimized and solidified by two further activities: having art displayed in the art show and receiving an art award.

For example, when Steve entered my class he wouldn't talk. Intelligent and sensitive, when overwhelmed he withdrew and, when talked to directly, he wouldn't talk. But talking into a tape recorder intrigued him; the gadgetry caught his attention. Soon he was talking into the tape recorder and listening to his voice played back. Thereafter, when entering class he immediately went over to the tape recorder. After playing his tape before the class and seeing other children laugh and clap, he found it easier to talk. Soon his intelligence led him to be a class storyteller, providing him with new social skills. A new sense of self-esteem developed within Steve. The newly acquired skills changed his vulnerability patterns and allowed him to develop more coping skills. At the art show he displayed his books and talked about them; he also set up and took down the show. Afterward he said to me, "Bruce, Bruce, I think I wowed 'em. I like this being an artist." When he took his award home, his mother put it on the wall. They framed his art. For the next week Steve's head remained in the clouds.

If these three social dimensions can promote control, commitment and meaning in a child's life, how does the very act of painting nurture the child's creativity and growth?

Self-Esteem and Self-Expression: Actualization Through Art

Two factors increase a child's probability of success with art: 1) the child's generous natural endowment of artistic abilities and 2) the conception of art as an individually self-expressive activity.

With their generous native endowment, most children possess the artistic skills artistic tasks demand. In self-expressive art, a significant proportion of these can function at a high level aesthetically without mediation through a child's limited verbal and cognitive capacities. This use of imagination and epistemic motivations, available to most children, is maximized in my classes. However, use of artistic skills like optical accuracy, fine eye-hand coordination, depth perception and perspective, which most children lack, is minimized. Individualized stylistic solutions are encouraged, resulting in social reinforcement. Most children possess the artistic skills necessary for these solutions. Thus the classroom experience is prefigured for the child's success.

When children enter the classroom they face this problem: what are the relevant dimensions of art as an activity? How a solution is discovered is seen most clearly in observing children with a history of failure and other directed styles of problem-solving (Zigler, 1970). These children "scan" the environment for "clues." If a teacher asks them to "paint monsters," these children all try a variety of strategies to avoid trusting their own solutions; i.e., disclaimers of ability, rebellion, limit-testing, diversionary tactics, imitation, reversals to previous praise-winning solutions, etc. Understandably, in the internal experience of these children, trusting their own impulses, thoughts and decisions for problem-solving does not come easily: previous experience with trusting invariably lead them into difficulties.

In the art room, however, trusting one's own solutions is reinforced. Sooner or later a host of other factors (high teacher expectations, a warm caring environment and modeling) encourage children to trust their own solutions. Almost any solution they choose receives positive reinforcement. Since a painting at the preschool level can be done in five minutes, children have an opportunity to receive massive short-term positive reinforcement for their actions. These repeated successes soon overwhelm their past history and old problem-solving patterns.

Green and Lepper (1974) claim that supplying extrinsic motivations may undermine intrinsic motivations. These issues demand sensitive yet direct handling. Some children will produce art work for expected adult praise or for the art show. When a child seeks praise, give praise; it shouldn't be given on a zero-sum game model. All children can be praised. Judicious use of praise can lead the child into activities overloaded with intrinsic satisfiers at the purely psychological level. Levy (1971) and Green and Lepper (1974) discuss these issues further.

In this process, at a psychological level, children experience their own impulses, needs, feelings, ideas as validated. They enjoy the rich sensuous nature of art. In risk-taking, they heighten their arousal and focus their attention, using ingenuity to solve problems in particular art projects—manipulating, adjusting and reconstructing materials. They symbolize disturbing life situations and make constructive use of fantasy and daydreaming. They paint life events to communicate joy and wonderment. In trial-and-error problem-solving, they learn to prolong their concentration and their efforts at solutions in the face of frustration. They discover new facets about themselves. Finally, through talking about art and observing others' art, they heighten their aesthetic sensitivity, sharpen their visual perception, and learn to limit personal involvement while viewing others' art. These psychological dimensions help make art self-fulfilling for many levels and dimensions of children's personality structure. Some levels they consciously know and can talk about; others they experience without conscious awareness.

A host of other variables interact to complicate further growth: developmental issues arise, peer group pressures assert themselves, plateaus are reached, backsliding occurs. But growth occurs, and with most children.

In short, one's conception of art, one's generous natural endowment and the massive short-term reinforcement of art combine with a supportive caring environment to reverse negative patterns of coping, heal wounded areas of vulnerability and teach new skills. At a psychological level children enjoy art, find it exciting, concentrate without difficulty, reluctantly end an art activity, and consciously learn about and express their inner needs.

In summary, the impact of these four dimensions of art—children having power, children acting on norms legitimate in their own eyes, children engaging in meaningful behavior and children acting non-estrangedly—can help children rebuild damaged self-esteem, give them a basis for self-competence, provide them with an opportunity to increase social competency, and correct a history of failure through the self-actualizing activity of art. Understanding the impact of these dimensions will enrich art programs and deepen children's art experiences.

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By JANICE J. VOLKERS

CONCERNED CITIZENS IN THE MAKING

"When I grow up," said Lance, "I'm going to be a fighter pilot. I'll dive down and kill all the Germans in the war." Flashing a happy smile, Lance demonstrated his future actions by methodically mowing down our entire first grade with his imaginary machine gun.

I WAS NOT SURPRISED TO HEAR LANCE talk as if we were still fighting World War II. In each of my four years of teaching first grade, there have been similar episodes. It is probable that television, while educational in many beneficial ways, tends to lead children into thinking that we are still fighting an old war, that violence is acceptable, that interplanetary travel is common, and that dinosaurs still exist.

What really hurts is to hear a young child speak in such an unconcerned manner about killing. Ordering Lance not to be happy about such thoughts would not be teaching him to really feel for others. Do you just hope a feeling of concern will develop naturally or do you try to teach a child a feeling? An unusual chance to try teaching concern through an experience developed for me.

Paperback Book Drive for Service Men

In mid-November 1967, the Junior Red Cross at Warren Elementary School, Terre Haute, Indiana, culminated a three-week paperback book drive for Americans in service in Vietnam. With donations coming from all over the city, the children's goal of 5,000 books had been toppled and surpassed.

As teacher-sponsor of Junior Red Cross, I found myself and my twenty-four first-graders sharing our classroom with 7,000 paperback books. They suffered the problems of the drive right along with me. When a local box company donated boxes, the children felt my relief and gratitude. Nearly one hundred dollars was received from parents, teachers and citizens to help pay the postage fee. I could sense the children's surprise at the generosity some people will express when they see a chance to help others.

The book project work was done by teachers and students in each grade of Warren School. Taking advantage of the books being in my room, I found it easy to involve personally each of my six- and seven-year-olds in the service project. They helped count the books into stacks of ten books each. All the children took turns in stamping books with "We think of you." The books were sorted into stacks of Westerns, mysteries, novels, nonfiction and religious books. Then we tried to divide each category equally into the fifty-five boxes that teachers and Junior Red Cross members in all classes helped form, pack, tape, tie and address. The Army Reserve volunteered a truck to take the boxes to the post office. Before Christmas, most of the books were being distributed to servicemen all over Vietnam. The excitement of being part of this project that grown-ups found important helped to develop in my first-graders a realization of the importance of concern.

Soldiers' Response

Soon a wonderful thing began to happen. Unexpected thank-you letters from soldiers began to come in. Because of some of these letters, war could no longer appear glamorous to the children. A soldier recovering from his second tank explosion mentioned the books to his wife in North Carolina and she even wrote a letter to the children. An appreciation of the plight of the individual serviceman was becoming apparent in the children's attitudes. Soldiers responded to concern with concern in letters such as:

> "It is always good to know that we still have our support from home. These books will fill many of the lonely hours of the soldier in Vietnam and I am sure they will be circulated among the men for many months to come."
>
> "Your thoughtfulness has touched the hearts of many men and if there is something we can do to show our appreciation, please let us know."
>
> "May God bless all of you who have taken part in this greatly appreciated project."

Our class talked about how much the letters meant to us. Some of the children commented that they, too, were going to remember to be nice to children when they grew up. Others wanted to write the soldiers and thank them for thanking us.

Children's Feelings Expressed

The children were not yet able to write, so they each made a picture to make a soldier feel happy. They decided that if they were soldiers, pictures of battles and injured people would make them feel sad. One child drew a forest scene. Another made a picture of soldiers coming home to a big dinner. Larry thought that a picture of a pretty girl would probably be welcome. Giant decorated cakes were a favorite happy picture.

On the back of each picture I wrote a letter to a soldier just exactly as the child dictated it, without any teacher censorship.

Janice J. Volkers was recently a student in William Van Til's writing class at Indiana State University, Terre Haute, where she wrote this piece.

Eddie's picture was a multicolored round circle. His message was, "This is the world. I hope you get out of the army soon—safe and calm. I think the world is not good when people try to get other people's cars stuck in the snow and they fight and argue. I don't like wars, and I like school. If all the fighting stopped and people would stop packing down cars with snow, I would feel better. I hope you don't get killed and I hope you win. I like you." (We had just had fifteen inches of snow!)

Learning To Care

Is Eddie facing the world's problems at so young an age that he will become easily depressed and melancholy? I don't think so. He is learning to feel and care about what happens in the world. He is becoming involved in the worthwhile search for an answer to "What's it all about?" Eddie is just as aware of the joys of the world as he is of the sorrows. Last week he wrote a poem in his free time:

Flowers come out!
Flowers come out!
Wonderful!

The students' interest in the soldiers has remained at a high level throughout the year. All areas of study have been influenced by their enthusiasm. One reason for their continued stimulation is that a staff sergeant plans to visit our school during his June leave from Vietnam. He said he wants to give his personal thanks for the books he and his men received. Talk about being thoughtful!

Now being alert to the war, one of the children brought a newspaper picture of a Vietnamese child whose legs had to be amputated. In discussing what it would be like to be this child who lived right in the middle of the war, the first-graders also began to wonder what it would be like to be handicapped. How would it feel to be laughed at by people who laugh at everything they don't understand? Could we be brave enough to keep on trying to do things we cannot do well? We really began to understand what it means to treat others in the way that we would like them to treat us.

The children had grown to feel enough concern for the servicemen and the Vietnamese children and their families that they were now wondering how the war could end. Ben looked worried as he announced, "I heard on TV that we are losing the war."

Scott said if he could go over there to make peace, he'd say, "Stop fighting or I'll kill you!"

"No," said Jane, "I'd give everyone a vacation and if someone came to fight, no one would be there."

Penny had thought it over too. "I would tell them about Jesus," she suggested, "and then I'd let them think about it a few minutes."

The children were not being funny. They were thinking. They were using concepts built out of their own experiences and what they had heard their parents say.

It is difficult but important to follow through with serious discussions with the children. By avoiding such discussions, you may be doing the kind of harm you do to the child when you wash the dishes without their volunteered help because it's easier and less complicated that way. Something wonderful in the child is being stifled. You are cutting off one path through which you could have led the child into a deeper understanding of the world and thereby broadened his areas of concern.

Children should know they can honestly express feelings about things they are concerned about and not be laughed at, corrected or put on a stage. With this security, the child will talk more about his concerns and you will know in what areas he needs more experience.

Putting Themselves in Others' Shoes

Talk about how it would feel to be the President of the United States, the cripple on the street corner, a person of a minority group, a rich man, an unloved child. Try to give children experience that will help them feel what it's like to be someone else and then concern will grow. Perhaps they will grow to be the kind of adults who, before they step on someone's toes, put their feet in that person's shoes.

In the weeks and months that followed the book project, a variey of incidents at school called for feelings of concern from the children. Now I had something to work with. My tool to handle situations where children displayed callousness was our experience of thinking how we would feel if we were the other person.

When amiable but outspoken Lynne commented, "I wonder why Alice (handicapped) even bothers to come to school. She can't do anything right," I could think back with her to our discussion about the handicapped Vietnamese child. By relating these two people together, Lynne became more sensitive to Alice's feelings. Recently, she announced in class that she wanted to sit by Alice, which happens to be one of the highest honors one child can give another!

Ways To Teach About Concern

Ordering children to be concerned for others will not help develop that feeling. Due to the results of the book project, I feel that I have come upon two good ways that concern can be taught.

First, service projects, at home and at school, are the key to opening in children's hearts a feeling for mankind and a desire to try to understand and help others. I think children need to be involved in more situations where they help others and are likely to be thanked than to have things done for them for which they should give thanks. The happiness and satisfaction they feel from this may help shape them into the kind of people who want to write meaningful notes at the right times, to include the elderly in conversations, to visit sick friends, and in general to feel concern for how others feel.

Second, as teachers and parents we should treat children and other people in the same manner that we would want to be treated if we were they. Easy? I guess not!

Well, let's face it! No one appears capable of perfection. Even the teacher loses her temper, forgets to be fair, and neglects to be thoughtful and sensitive. But, are not those times when she is patient, gives everyone a turn, and asks, "How is your baby brother's cold?" the times that show how wonderful it is when concern overcomes other natural reactions?

My first-graders recognized the special quality within the soldiers who, with nothing more to go on other than the name of a school and a city stamped in their book, took time to write and thank children they had never known. It is possible that the soldiers remembered what it was like when they were children and were responding to the children in a way that they knew would be meaningful.

There are reasons supporting the way in which each different person acts. If a child or any person becomes able to appreciate such reasons, he will begin to develop a grand empathy with the world that will strengthen his resistance to bigotry, pettiness and apathy. A concerned citizen will be in the making.

By IRENE E. HARNEY

A Teacher Looks at an Intermediate Grade

Irene E. Harney is associate professor and intermediate-grade teacher of Campus Elementary School, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

NO EAGER VOICES, NO RUNNING FOOTsteps, no occasional slamming of lockers disturb my flow of thoughts as I sit alone in the deserted classroom. The time has come to appraise the intermediate level program and to plan modifications and changes. Searching questions, many of them to remain unanswered, rush through my mind.

I could write, "During these eight weeks the children grew in independence and openness of new ideas." These words are lifeless; they tell nothing about the twenty-five individual children who come from different environments to become members of a group for a school year. Each one is a person with hopes, fears, dreams, ambitions. What he really gains from a program could not be put into the display case or on the bulletin board. It is something more intangible. It is observed in a change of attitude, a sudden smile, the ability to laugh at one's self, the courage to begin again after a failure or in vigorous pursuit of a new idea.

I turned to my notes made during the eight weeks; perhaps they could be assembled so that others could see these children as I do. As I began to read, I remembered:

. . . Charlotte asking, "Am I doing all right? What do you want me to do next?" (I'll never forget the surprised look on her face when I answered, "What do *you* want to do next?" And her relieved reply, "I'd like to read.")

. . . Harold completely engrossed, listening to his voice on the tape recorder. (Harold requires time to listen, to touch, and to explore before he can create.)

. . . Joel working alone in the back of the room unaware that the class period was over. (Children need opportunities to work independently. I must provide time for more self-directing activities.)

. . . the day shy, timid Jane volunteered to read the story she had written. The pleased expression on her face when Paul remarked after she had finished, "I like the way Jane writes. She can make a picture with words, somehow." (Paul's praise did more to build up Jane's self-confidence than anything I might have said.)

. . . Tom, frowning, disinterested as he laboriously tried to express his thoughts in writing, then relaxed and confident as he patiently tried different ways to make his "computer" work. (How different a child is when he is doing something that matters to him! I wonder if I give the children enough time to work on their own ideas?)

. . . Sally, restless, always on the move, unable to do anything on her own. (I must have more conferences with Sally; I don't really know what her interests are or what values she prizes.)

. . . Helen and Mary sitting in a corner of the classroom planning a dramatization of *Pippi Longstockings.* (This was a good experience for Helen and Mary. Through the book characters, they were able to express some of their ideas and feelings about themselves and others.)

. . . the rapt expressions on the boys' faces as quiet, studious Lewis explained his question and answer machine. (Lewis is so quiet and remote that I almost didn't discover his leadership qualities. I mustn't forget the quiet child in the hub-bub of classroom activities.)

. . . the day tall, awkward Mark volunteered to play the role of bell ringer in *Bartholomew and the Oobleck;* how he forgot himself and became someone else for awhile; how he displayed self-confidence as he swaggered off stage as the children applauded. (Dramatics is beneficial to Mark. It is a group activity where in the guise of someone else he can develop initiative and grow in self-concept.)

. . . Peter's excited voice, exclaiming, "I've got it!" when he discovered how to wire a circuit. (It was fortunate that I had the good judgment not to show Peter how to wire the circuit the day before when he was so discouraged. Sometimes it's a good plan to remain an interested bystander.)

. . . Lucy explaining that she had come early to work on her poem because that morning at breakfast she had thought of something to add. (Lucy has reached the stage in her creative development when she feels that her ideas are important and should be recorded.)

. . . Winifred helping a group of seven- and eight-year-old girls improvise a dance for *The Emperor's New Clothes.* (This experience helped Winifred and the other girls to recognize that the success of a group effort requires mutual respect for one another's ideas.)

. . . Beth happily saying, "I've made a friend." (It was only after Beth had found her friend that she began to produce ideas of her own.)

From such reflections, a dimension of teaching persistently comes to mind—a dimension which is too commonly given lip-service in the face of teacher "technology" and pedagogical "science." Important as the materials and specific techniques are, there emerges the element of human sensitivity and awareness that the child in Row 2, Seat 6 is a reflective, creative, insightful and growing being. Experiences to be significant must keep this perception foremost in mind. This must come first, not last.

Human sensitivity and awareness is to know when to offer advice and when to remain silent. It is being there at the right time to encourage and stimulate thinking; it is being able to see purpose in a child's noisy behavior and to appreciate his jokes even when they seem pointless; it is to help each child believe that he is needed and that he possesses ideas and opinions worthy of respect even when they are different; it is to recognize that children have their own private world where at times it is best not to intrude; it is to help a child to acquire skills, values and information from his varied experiences; it is the exchange of ideas with children and fellow teachers; it is to know ourselves, our limitations and strengths; it is all of these perceptions melded together.

Yes, it is a difficult task, I concluded, to appraise a school program when the classroom became a place where real life characters began to play their individual roles. In all the complexities of the profession, however, it is this human aspect that makes teaching exciting, ever-new and challenging.

By GABRIEL H. L. JACOBS

WHEN FIFTH- AND SIXTH-GRADERS THINK

Some Techniques for Developing Thinking

"A design is really something! I mean people always say, 'I only like realistic paintings.' But if you go up in an airplane you can look down and see many beautiful things but they will look fake and small. So it just goes to show that a painting can be beautiful without being realistic!" *SB, Mar. 16 (g)*

"Today I wondered about the two-second launch window. Mr. Jacobs told us that everything happened so fast that they had to program the procedures on tape but how could they program it that fast on tape?

"Maybe they do it as fast as they can and then double or triple the speed at the launch." *CU, Sept. 14 (b)*

THIS KIND OF THINKING AND WRITING can be done by most children in the regular classroom setting. The samples included here are fifth- and sixth-graders' entries of new ideas into journals in which they have been asked to note and describe what is new, exciting or interesting to them; what they are curious about and why they are. Their ideas need be new only to them, not to mankind; they are free to speculate or comment on any subject, school-related or not. Poetry and diagrams as entries or parts of entries are welcome. The children respond with descriptions of self-realization and thinking about physical and social phenomena.

"Some times I have wondered why my sister gets me all excited about something. Things like when she has candy or cookies. But when she does this to me she really doesn't have these things. But when she says this it sounds like she really has these things. I have wondered why she does this to me? She said the reason why she does this is she likes to kid me. But the real reason is because when she tells me these things I always fall for it. I really go along with thinking that she really has these goodies. Also she said that it is so easy to get me excited." *OT, Mar 8 (g)*

"Today I didn't learn anything. But I did remember something that I had learned on another occasion. This was when I went to a movie one night. I noticed that when the scenes or colors changed from place to place so did the beam of light. There were bright beams which were probably the bright colors, and there was also almost no beam at all but yet there was still a beam. The beams didn't have any color to them except for bright light and darker light." *DS, Feb. 16 (b)*

The injunctions to teach children to think have made me feel inadequate for years. Sure, I tried to structure my classroom and questions to encourage thinking and prepare the children to live in a world of change; but after many years of teaching I found that we know very little about how to develop thinking. Experience with group processes, readings in psychoanalysis, and much thought

Gabriel H. L. Jacobs, principal, William Tyler Page Elementary School, Silver Spring, Maryland, describes "journal entries" for encouraging creative thinking.

brought me to the point where I organized a system of having children record their new ideas. When children began to "warm up" to this, they found that their new ideas were not necessarily random; that having thought about a problem sensitized them to it, making them observe and think more about it. Here is an example:

> . . . But I am wondering what insects really live for. They have such a short and boring life and they really don't accomplish anything except laying eggs that will hatch into insects that will have boring lives. People and some animals at least live a longer life and have something to do in their life." *YL, Apr. 28 (g)*
>
> "Today I was thinking about something I wrote in one of my entries. I said that insects have nothing to live for and are just useless. But without hardly thinking I realized that insects are the food for birds, frogs, toads, and other small animals. Bees make honey. And bees also help pollinate flowers. When they are trying to get nectar for a flower they brush pollen off of the anthers onto the stigma. Each piece of pollen grows a tube down to where the seeds are. It pierces it and that is like fertilizing it." *YL, May 24 (g)*

One of the necessary conditions for children to write down the kind of thinking quoted below is that they have to trust you in a sense that has very little to do with stealing or squealing. Children need to value their own thinking and this begins with the teacher valuing it. Bill's entry reflects this kind of trust. He was treading on my most sensitive toes in the following entry.

> "Today in class a girl said something about positive and negative on a battery. Mr. Jacobs replied by saying, 'How can you tell the difference between positive and negative?' Not a person in the class knew. So he told us to think about it. Teachers always do this. Why? Whatever anybody says they find a flaw in it or say investigate more or something like that. Whenever you make an oral report to the class they mess it up by finding every pinhole they can in it. Teachers often say this is true of students, however, I find this is only true because teachers criticize them so much they just can't wait to give it back to the teachers. I think this whole problem could be solved if teachers would only quit criticizing their kids so much." *BI, Feb. 10 (b)*

Once I got over my feeling of anger, I realized that his polite disagreement was something I had been encouraging all year long.

How do you encourage children to produce a reasonable quantity of entries that are complete and legibly written without putting so much pressure on them that you defeat your purpose? Although I consider any length for entries satisfactory, completeness is the standard I attempt to reach. Entries are asked for five times a week (from any of the seven days in a week). However, missed entries are often overlooked. Asking a child to make up a series of entries does not really encourage creative thinking. If you are too adamant about the rules, the process becomes so unpleasant for the child that at best he will dutifully turn out meaningless descriptions of events.

It is difficult for children to realize that they constantly have new ideas in one form or another. They are frequently excited, curious, frightened or angry at something or someone. To have them realize that this is excellent material for developing further thoughts and describing them is difficult. In encouraging thinking, many different approaches need to be used if one is to reach every child in a class. Reading aloud other children's entries, projecting entries, and discussing them for completeness and excitement are some useful methods. Children begin to wonder how they think and get ideas and sometimes write or discuss good descriptions of this process. The entire class can take advantage of their thoughts. The most important thing the teacher can do is to communicate his own excitement for new ideas. If your genuine enthusiasm comes through, the children will feel it and catch it. I get so caught up in new ideas occasionally I write journal entries and share them with the class. Sometimes these are projected, a paragraph at a time, to decide at what point the entry is complete.

In sharing children's journal entries with other people, particularly with classmates, it is important to guarantee anonymity. Even though the entries may not appear to be of a delicate nature to a teacher, the child may be sensitive about his inner thoughts being shared. Using entries collected from previous classes is a good practice.

It often happens that a child's entry will contain a factual error which he may or may not correct in a later entry. It is more important to refrain from making children feel what they are writing is wrong than to have them set right on every subject. The emphasis should be less on rightness or wrongness and more on the excitement of new ideas.

This method is not based on research but on the interest of about ten of us who have been encouraging children to keep journals of new ideas for the last few years. We have had a great deal of fun and success with them. Each of us approaches and applies these techniques in different ways. Some insist children make spelling and punctuation corrections in their entries, while others do not. Some have varied the number of times per week children write entries. Many variations in approach work, but it is most important that the mechanics of the program do not get in the way of the spirit of making entries.

A successful journal program takes time. It is necessary to discuss ideas and how they are arrived at, the importance of thinking, and the mechanics of a journal of new ideas. The program will have to displace other things done in the classroom and some of the things the teacher does after school, because it is necessary to read the entries regularly. No attempt should be made to use these techniques if this system does not excite you. Its success depends on your enthusiasm and interest.

Photo by John Lidstone

ENJOYING PREADOLESCENCE
The Forgotten Years

Again the refrain: value diversity! This stirring editorial overview calls for a fresh look at the in-between years of ten to fourteen and their distinctive problems and pleasures. Lois Barclay Murphy is director, Developmental Studies, Research Department, Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas.

LOIS
BARCLAY
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Between the ages of ten and thirteen or fourteen, typically, the child goes through almost as great a transformation as that seen when a tadpole changes into a frog. Moreover, longitudinal studies have shown how the changes follow differing patterns in different children: chubby Elise becomes tall and willowy; slender John becomes muscular and strong; Constance, who had always been one of the big children in her class, finds others spurting ahead, continuing to gain in height while she completes her growth at twelve; skinny Kathie rounds out as enlarging breasts reveal her blossoming femininity. Meantime, her best friend, maturing more slowly, remains sadly flat chested until much later. Jim worries because his "dong" is so little, while Jack is amazed that his is so big. In all these children rapid changes bring some degree of narcissistic threat, fear of inadequate appearance or capacity to maintain their own sex-role adequately.

These seemingly unpredictable changes are accompanied by other changes in inner functions—hormone input and balance, heart rate, autonomic lability, emotional reactivity and energy level. Some children become more energetic, while others become "lazy," "not themselves." Some become irritable, "impossible to live with," while others withdraw and are "hard to reach."

Adults, impressed by the child's growth-spurt, often forget that the external changes may bring a sense of bewilderment, insecurity or even unreality to the child, who is wondering what she will be like or how tall he will get and whether he can compete with other teenagers. Will he be good at sports, which he sees as crucial to teenage status; will she be "popular"?

Along with the unsettling effects of a changing body-image that may be "hard to get used to," many a twelve-year-old feels more than doubtful about the desirability of getting to be thirteen years old. Twelve years old is the last year of childhood. "All along till now my parents have done everything for me; soon I'll have to take over." "There will be more responsibilities." "Teenagers have such a bad reputation—I don't want to be one."

And, just at this point of maximum instability of the inner and outer self, the shift to junior high school brings added external threats to many children. "I won't have a home room with just one teacher anymore—there won't be anyone who knows me." "I don't know whether I'll be able to remember to bring the things I need to every class." "My locker will be a long way off and I don't know whether I'll be able to remember where it is." "There will be different children in every class and it will be hard to get to know them." I attended a thirteenth birthday dinner for one boy—a bright, competent, sensitive, slow-growing boy—who cried and couldn't eat his birthday cake. Even when they have been prepared, some girls are disturbed by their first menstruations and the discomfort sometimes brought.

No wonder teachers often comment that eighth grade is the hardest to teach! With so much inner and outer pressure, self-controls apparently well-established at nine or ten years of age break down; children are impulsive, emotional; they seem to over-react, to take out their anger on the teacher, to upset each other. Some teachers, forgetting what this phase was like and forgetting whatever child development training they had, retaliate punitively, even sadistically. All across the country I have been given illustrations of "mean" top sergeant techniques for "disciplining" the difficult child who may himself feel bewildered at his restlessness and his impulsiveness, at the difficulty of behaving as well as he formerly did. The children who were not themselves punished may be as angry as the victim at the teacher's "nastiness," such as making a child hold his arms straight up above his head for an hour while standing against the wall.

In contrast to this picture of preadolescent strain, resistance, difficult behavior, we see a happier picture with some children and in some schools. Thirteen-year-old Sam was anxious about his slow development but, unlike another slow-growing boy, he did not take it out in mischievous show-off techniques; his teacher allowed him to apply his math in making detailed blueprints for a boat, which his Shop teacher then helped him to build. Twelve-year-old Sally was precociously adolescent; her "Home Ec" teacher helped her to design and make some teenage clothes and in addition helped her experiment with new hairdoes. In these and many other instances teachers who understand both the new drive pressures, ambitions, hopes and anxieties of children this age can provide constructive outlets for their tensions and help to sustain their confidence and positive self-image.

The most successful teachers, as I have seen them, maintain good structure, partly by making demands and providing opportunities which build on the children's interests and which bring achievement that seems worthwhile and thus supports the shaky self-confidence of children this age. These successful teachers are understanding when the children are restless but help them to harness their energies in activities; they don't allow the group experience to become chaotic, but they do not become sadistic in maintaining control because their control is built on the children's own wish for achievement. These teachers avoid boring, repetitious, monotonous assignments at the stage when children find it hard to pay attention to routine tasks; they look for challenging, relevant work that utilizes children's interests.

This requires, of course, the support of curricular flexibility and a school system that is willing to let go of old classics like *Silas Marner* in favor of well-written reports of the moon walk or biographies of heroes of this generation.

Beyond this, the successful teacher is sensitive to the possibility that certain of the "unresponsive" children at this transitional stage may "need time to get used to themselves." Respecting the need for a preadolescent moratorium, while still making interesting opportunities available, is in some cases the wise solution.

Wisdom-based Junior High School Teaching

Robert L.K. Richardson

The junior high school student is like a seedling tree; watered carefully, it will grow upward and outward in many directions. The adolescent student is a unique creation who lives in an eternal springtime. This youthful form, no matter the analogy, is a human being—a person with the desire to be someone, to have status, to belong, to act, to contribute and to grow through knowing.

In attempting to water the seedlings for whom I was responsible as a public school teacher of students in grades 7, 8 and 9, I learned that the intellectual growth of my students was more my goal and their parents' goal than it was their own goal. I learned that students' personal needs could be met in ways that actually facilitated their growth—academic and personal. I learned that the work of Abraham Maslow (1970) was most valuable to me in my work. I attribute my success as a junior high school teacher to my ability to identify human needs and to integrate various realms of knowledge.

Implicit in human desires are needs and implicit in human needs are deficiencies. The typical needs of junior high school students range from deficiencies in physiological balance to deficiencies in feelings of esteem. As is true of all humans, need deficiencies manifest themselves in overt behaviors that are surreptitiously designed by the student to satisfy a potent, personal need. In other words, an individual creates problems that are symptomatic of unmet needs.

Junior high school students are keenly perceptive. These students make their behavior decisions from a framework of perceptions about the means that are available to them to satisfy their needs. These students are intuitively goal oriented; they are adamantly determined to eliminate the discomfort of any internal imbalance (i.e., deficiency). Internal imbalances are the sole possession of the individual; yet, they are often indescribable by the owner. Imbalances are private matters and are best left private.

The effective junior high school teacher, however, enters this private world. This teacher enters each student's private world quietly and skillfully in order to discover the needs that direct the individual's behaviors in the classroom. Once discovered, the teacher exits from the student's private world. The teacher, through this investigation, solidifies a special student-teacher relationship based on wisdom—an understanding of how to meet students' needs.

Such understanding provides the operational key that the *teacher* needs in order to meet *students'* needs. This wisdom allows the teacher the freedom to make decisions concerning valuable and appropriate ways to fashion experiences for each student to control learning. Wisdom, augmented by such decisions, marks the junior high school teacher as an effective agent of growth.

Descriptors of Adolescent Behavior

Needs, serving as underlying motivators of behaviors, must be surveyed since they seek gratification. Need level, according to Maslow, is determined by an individual's immediate state of affairs. The physiological needs are the most po-

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tent of all needs; need for air, sleep, food or water demands direct thought and action in a more powerful way than does the need for security. Analogously, the needs for safety and security are more potent than are the needs for love and belongingness. The latter two needs preempt the need for esteem; esteem needs are stronger than the needs for actualization, knowledge or aestheticism. Accordingly, the needs are leveled in hierarchical order based on the potency of the corresponding deficiency.

When physiological deficiencies exist, the student becomes charged with energy and possessed with thoughts designed to determine ways to fulfill the need. For example, a hungry student is motivated to resolve the need for food. As a logical, concomitant behavior, the student may request of the teacher permission to go to the locker. The hungry student seeks, through this request, to get to a source of food—the lunch bag in the locker or the fruit leftover from lunch. Similarly, a student with a need for bladder elimination behaves in an energized way that serves to temporarily constrict muscles and sphincters and to seek out a restroom.

When safety and security are threatened, the student responds in one of many possible ways. The student who feels unsafe or insecure may exhibit reticence, embarrassment or withdrawal; yet another student or the same student at another time may exhibit reckless daring, boldness or pernicious affinities with classmates or the teacher.

An individual deficient in feelings of love or belonging manifests need-fulfilling behaviors in numerous ways. The student may request repeated seat changes, engage in public grooming, affiliate with many organizations or agree to work only with certain groups. The majority of students in the junior high years expend much energy in attempts to fulfill the needs for love and belonging; logically, they are easily influenced by peers, media and fads.

When esteem needs emerge in full potency, the need-deficient person exhibits behaviors intended to win respect from others. The student with this need may express impatience with restrictions in the classroom, seek out competitive situations, assert accomplishments, cheat or overact in achievement efforts.

Each of the above provides characteristic descriptors of adolescent behavior. Many others comprise the complete list. Each of the descriptors pertains to a behavior that indicates the need-focus of the individual who possesses the behavior. Each requires of the teacher a response; each requires of the effective teacher a wise response.

Effective Teaching Responses

Growth should be the outcome of educational experiences. Significantly, growth needs achieve potency only after basic need deficiencies are satisfied. The responsibility for growth necessarily rests with the junior high teacher because the majority of early adolescent students vest their responsibility and expend their energies by duly attending to the fulfillment of personal-need deficiencies at more basic levels in the hierarchy. Student growth, then, results only when the teacher successfully fashions experiences that both meet student needs *and* control cognitive learning.

☐ A professional educator prepares to teach each assigned class. A teacher is a learned individual who possesses a broad base of knowledge about the subject to be learned in a class. A teacher outlines and taxonomizes the cognitive elements of any topic and arranges experiences that illuminate facts and the relations that exist between the facts and the students.

☐ An effective teacher supplements this science of teaching with the art of teaching. The effective junior high teacher is one who carefully designs classroom activities that include both content objectives and student objectives. This teacher assumes the responsibility to ensure that students' academic and personal needs are satisfied in the classroom. This teacher frees students to experience growth through learning while living.

☐ Each period this teacher anticipates the arrival of students and greets them at the classroom door with a handshake of welcome and an invitation to enter and to learn. This teacher interacts with each arriving student and, in so doing, takes the opportunity to 1) receive information about student news and needs; 2) offer suggestions or reminders to particular students to hurry to the locker, lavatory or pencil sharpener; to sit in a certain seat; or to fulfill a previously contracted obligation; and 3) inform all students of routine variations for the day. The teacher who thus welcomes students spends a few

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minutes but saves many hours through effectively recognizing students' specific personal needs.

☐ Junior high learning experiences are most effective when they incorporate student contributions and questions, tap student capacities, ratify student ownership of the learning process, restrict opportunities to fail and maximize opportunities to succeed. Successful learning experiences are the foundation for all growth.

☐ The teacher's invitation to learn is coupled effectively with the assurance of success in learning. For some students, success in mastering cognitive content will be delayed. Successes for these students are fashioned in non-cognitive, need-fulfilling ways such as materials' distribution, unique contributions, insightful questions, accurate self-evaluation and task completion. These kinds of successes are provided differentially and discriminately by the teacher who knows students' need levels and matches success opportunities with need-fulfillment. No junior high student should leave a class without having experienced success and, thereby, having accepted the invitation to learn.

Positive Aspects of Adolescent Descriptors

Adolescent descriptors can be considered in negative ways or in positive ways. The effective junior high teacher is aware of both perspectives but chooses the latter. Some positive aspects of these descriptors are presented here.

☐ Impulsiveness is a form of spontaneity—a trait admired among humans. Charges of energy are valuable when channeled into classroom service activities.

☐ Self-doubt is a motivator to inquiry when hypothesis formation is used to discover ways to reduce disequilibrium. Mood swings, forgetfulness and boredom plague all humans at various times; discovering self becomes a tool to use in realizing personal deficiency needs throughout life.

☐ Popularity is a natural concern for all social beings. Popularity experiences can be fashioned by the teacher to include variables such as scholarship, gentility and growth; recognition of the worthiness of these qualities serves to influence the determinants of popularity among students in a school.

☐ Responsiveness to peers, media and fads indicates the preference of young people to take part in contemporary life. Student growth is maximized when responsiveness is channeled to the age-old, but contemporary, fad of learning.

☐ Smiling is a preferred countenance. Such expression accompanies discovery, humor, satisfaction and learning. Let each experience abound in the classroom!

☐ Impatience with restrictions is a necessary component of democracy and a significant mark of Americans. Democratic decision-making invigorates students, enlivens the classroom and provides a valuable skill that students can use in all kinds of groups with which they affiliate. In a similar vein, competitiveness accompanies American life. Competition offers the chance to succeed. Real success is assured when student competitions are fortified through cooperative efforts and interdependencies.

Adolescent descriptors, when translated in positive ways, become the means to sustain and perpetuate learning in the classroom. The association of learning with need gratification is the hallmark of the professional service provided by the effective junior high school teacher. A student's desire to know is a growth need that emerges only after individual deficiency needs are satisfied. Learning in association with growth lays the foundation for self-actualization—the ultimate aim of education. The service provided by the effective junior high teacher challenges students to live and to learn simultaneously.

Education is the process or product of the deliberate attempt to fashion experiences in order to control learning. The process must focus on the individual product—not on the subject of instruction; the attempt must be deliberately discerned—not accidental; the experiences must be fashioned—not haphazard; and control must be exerted over learning—not students.

Some Cases in Point

In review of my personal application of Maslow's hierarchy to achieve the wisdom necessary to be an effective teacher at the junior high level, several students' names come to my mind.

☐ Chet entered 7th grade literally hungry. Personal pride blocked his participation in the free-lunch program, yet all of the other needs were thwarted by his hunger state. Food rewards were instituted in his classroom; Chet achieved not to satisfy a need to learn, but to satisfy a need for food. Subsequent conversations helped him to realize the connection between hunger satiation and academic success. Confidentiality assured by the way the program was operated, he agreed to take advantage of the free-lunch program. With basic deficiencies gratified daily, Chet was free to think and to be. Among his accomplishments by the time he left the junior high were the following: high honor roll, MVP—Chess Team, Director's Award—Vocal Music, and the President's Physical Fitness Award.

□ Roy entered 7th grade fearful of other students and of school failure. Careful adviser group placement and clarifications of accrued successes helped to reduce his fears. Roy earned the "Faculty Key" at the conclusion of his junior high experience. Although he continues to be a cautious person, he is presently a scholar at a private college; interestingly, he is also a baseball player and yell leader for his school.

□ Glynnis entered 7th grade boldly and expectantly. She tried out for cheerleading, pompons, and athletic teams but was unable to secure a place for herself through these groups. Her grades were not what they should have been. Her need for a place in a group was met through the encouragement of volunteering her services to work on student council committees. Herein, she succeeded; she was elected to serve as a president during her 9th-grade year. With the fulfillment of her personal needs, her academic endeavors vastly improved. Glynnis is currently an executive with a publishing firm.

□ Bob entered 7th grade a "loner." Fulfillment of his need to belong was thwarted by the perceptions he held about his small size, high-pitched voice, foreign background and low academic achievement. Through continuous efforts to develop leadership qualities and through peer-group discussions at lunch-time, Bob's needs were satisfied. He ended his junior high years after having served as the president of the school's 90-member pep club. He has just graduated from a large university and just completed a successful term of elected office as the Inter-Greek Council Chairman.

Countless other students could be cited. Through the application of Maslow's need-satisfaction theory, the private world of each of these students was entered quietly. Serendipitous discoveries made during the "searches" were used to fashion experiences for each student which helped to bridge the gap between living and learning. With need deficiencies reduced, each student was free to grow and to become. An effective junior high school teacher has a multitudinous opportunity to provide complete professional service to students. The extrinsic rewards for junior high teaching remain meager, but the intrinsic rewards are highly compensatory.

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Section 2

The Child's World

From the first article, "Learning from Each Other," to the last one, "Let's Join Hands for Human Understanding," this section examines how home, business, community and world affect the lives and education of children. The articles emphasize that learning is a lifelong, collaborative activity that goes far beyond the classroom.

Although the family's function remains the same, the roles of men and women have changed rapidly over the past 25 years. More mothers work outside the home; some fathers choose to be the at-home caregiver. The shift from an industrial to a service/technological economy has caused some unemployment with a subsequent redesign of family responsibilities. The number of one-parent and stepparent families has also increased.

With these fundamental changes in family structures, schools have become community centers, providing continuity and support to children and parents alike. Administrators and teachers must reach out to parents and parents must involve themselves in the work of the schools. All citizens should think of schools as central to the ongoing educational health and well-being of their neighborhoods.

Business and industry must recognize their roles in the community and join forces with the schools to improve education for children. Additionally, since the workplace affects the quality of life parents are able to maintain for their children, companies must be supportive of family life. When such support exists, workers have been found to be more productive. Businesses can also contribute to the community's education by supporting parks and playgrounds. Effective playgrounds add a dimension to affective development which in turn enhances children's learning.

Over the past two decades, the increasing realization that the world is a multicultural society has motivated more individuals to learn not only about their own culture and traditions, but also those in the world community. Much can be learned, too, by looking at family policies and child care programs throughout the world. Although it is difficult to compare policies between countries because problems and approaches may differ, studying others' solutions can sometimes bring a new perspective to public policy development.

If the child, and the adult the child will become, is to live in a world that has some measure of quality, an understanding of the human condition must prevail. Individuals need an appreciation of both the joys and tribulations of all people to become contributing members of a world society. The articles in this section dealing with changing families, parent-school cooperation, community/business involvement, cultural diversity and public policy development expand our comprehension of a growing and ever-changing world.—**E. Anne Eddowes, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Alabama, Birmingham**

Learning from Each Other

—Linda Bartlett. Courtesy of Head Start.

Here is a clarion challenge for our times: "Our ultimate goal will be a comprehensive, integrated system of education in which everyone is a student, everyone is a teacher, throughout his life-span and throughout his life-space."

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Earl S. Schaefer

ed'u-ca'tion . . . the act or process of rearing or bringing up . . . the process of providing with knowledge, skill, competence or usually desirable qualities of behavior or character . . .

Webster's *Third International Dictionary of the English Language*, unabridged.

FROM CURRENT RESEARCH on early child development and early education there is emerging a major change in perspective on how best to help children grow. The result may be no less than a complete revolution in the way we think about the educational process—one that enlarges rather than destroys existing structures.

It is still quite common today, when we talk about education, to mean what happens to a school-age child in a classroom, under the supervision of a professional educator who seeks to help him learn academic skills through formal instruction, usually within a graded sequence. When we refer to the U. S. Office of Education, we really mean the U. S. Office of Schooling. If this restricted model of education was ever functional, it no longer is.

I agree with Ivan Illich that learning is not to be equated with schools or professional teachers, any more than health is equated with clinics or hospitals or doctors. Our new perspective on child development is not going to be a child-centered one of "What can the teacher do for the child?" or "What can the doctor do for the child?" Instead it is going to be a family-centered perspective and, going beyond that, a community-centered perspective, which will ask, "How can we provide support for *families* so that they, in turn, can care for and educate their children?"

Every Home a Learning Center

Secretary Elliot Richardson of the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare recently stated that the challenge of the seventies will be to make every home a learning center (1971). Well, in a sense all homes are learning centers. But some obviously are more effective than others. When we start to think of *families* as well as schools as educational institutions, we need to begin to devote our attention and resources to families and how they function—not just to schools and how schools function. Too many professionals see the family as the problem rather than as part of the solution. I think we're going to have to look instead at the strength in families, at the skills they already possess, the supports they need.

In a total integrated model of education we will have to challenge the idea that education is finished at some set point and will have to seek ways of developing people who are students throughout their lifetimes. This concept of education as a process that begins at birth and ends with death will demand a different role from the professional educator. Historically he has been a *doer*. Now he must become more a leader, who supports and supplements the role of the parent educators, rather than supplants them.

I would like to share with you some of my own experience that has led me to this point of view. Back in 1963 I became engaged in a review of literature on intellectual development. This led me to evidence that socioeconomic groups appear to reach their level of intellectual functioning before they enter school. The mean level of intellectual development tends to be established as early as three years of age (Schaefer, 1970), and the schools don't change it: they merely educate at the level to which the family and community have initially developed the child's skills. I found that most socioeconomic groups test at their own level by the age of three.

The Infant Education Research Project in Washington, D. C.

This review led me and a group of associates to the idea of designing an infant education project (*Preschool Breakthrough*, 1970; *"It Works"* report, 1970). Since differences in mental test scores appeared to emerge between approximately fifteen months and three years, we began tutoring children at fifteen months. An experimental group of 28 black male infants and a control consisting of 30 black male infants were selected by door-to-door surveys from two lower socioeconomic neighborhoods in Washington, D. C. The tutors were college graduates, both black and white, who had varied experience in working with young children. They went into homes for an hour a day, five days a week, to work with infants. We welcomed the participation of mothers, but did not insist on it, nor did we do much to encourage it.

Evaluation during the tutoring period showed success in terms of gains made in mental-test scores. Our initial thesis, the need for early education, was confirmed. But when we stopped tutoring the children at three years of age, their IQ scores began to decline.

In retrospect, we feel that in our infant education study we made a number of crucial errors. Basically, we started too late and we stopped too early (Schaefer, 1969, 1970). We now feel that education of the child in the home should begin at birth and continue through the school years. Another error was that we ourselves (i.e., the tutors) worked directly with the infants of our experimental group. Now we feel that we should not have been working directly with the children, but with their parents. (Implicitly we were telling our "experimental" parents: *we* are the experts; *we* have the skills and the competence; *we* will take the responsibility for educating your child. The control parents, on the other hand, not having seen anyone tutor their children, appeared to become themselves interested in taking a more active role in the children's intellectual development.) As a result of our experience in infant education we moved from an emphasis upon the need for early education to an emphasis upon the need for continuing education. We also moved from a child-centered approach to education to a parent-centered approach.

Related Studies from Abroad

Several other research studies have confirmed our developing views about the importance of the family's role:

1. In the book *The Home and The School*, J. W. Douglas (1964) reported research on a national sample of 5,000 children in England, Scotland and Wales. His conclusion was that the quality of parental involvement in a child's education had four times as much influence on test scores at eleven years of age as did the quality of the school attended.

2. A longitudinal study by another Englishman, T. Moore (1968) sought to correlate measures of the quality of children's home environments at two and a half years of age with their IQ scores at ages three and eight, and with their reading success at age seven. He sent investigators into the home to quantify

such factors as the amount and nature of verbal interaction between parent and child; the extent to which conversations were encouraged and participated in by the parents; the kinds of toys, books and experiences provided. Even when social class was statistically controlled as a value, he still found a high correlation—suggesting that the key to improving reading skills may not so much lie in what happens in school as in what happens in the family.

3. Similar data was obtained by Rupp (1969) in a study done in the Netherlands. Again focusing on the cultural-pedagogical atmosphere of the home and concentrating on the lowest socioeconomic group, he found that variations in the home milieu—the extent to which parents talked with the child, played games with him, provided enriching experiences for him, felt themselves effective educators—were highly related to reading success.

Some Family-centered Approaches in the U.S.A.

In the United States several examples of family-centered early childhood intervention programs give further emphasis to the importance of working with parents to increase their effectiveness.

Ira Gordon, Director of the Institute for Development of Human Resources, College of Education, University of Florida at Gainesville, has developed a pioneering program involving the use of paraprofessionals in parent education (1970). David Weikart's work (1969) with the cognitively centered curriculum study in Ypsilanti, Michigan, where he carried on an intensive nursery school program and also worked with parents one day a week to encourage them to continue to support the child's education, has been highly effective. Susan Gray (1968) found that in a nursery-school program in which she worked with parents in the early years she too got great gains in IQ, but that over a period of years, after the intervention ended, the mean IQ's of the experimental group declined ten points. She concluded that improved performance results from the *continued* interaction of the infant with his environment—again stressing the need for continuing education. Elsewhere she contrasted a preschool program for young children with a program in which the teacher went out and worked with the mother, once a week, on the education of her children. In terms of immediate gain on the part of the children, working with the mother once a week proved as effective as bringing them into the preschool—and *cost one-fifth as much.* Moreover, Gray has reported evidence of vertical diffusion down to the younger children who subsequently were born to the mothers, and horizontal diffusion through the neighborhood. I think this study has profound implications for what we need to do about early education. Are we going to bring children into preschools and fix our entire attention on what goes on in the schools? Or are we going to try to improve the competence, the adequacy and the sense of power on the part of parents who are with their children from birth to maturity?

A recent study in New York by Phyllis Levenstein (1969) fascinates me, mostly because of her very sharp focus on parent education. She chose about a dozen books and a dozen toys that could be used to promote verbal interaction between a parent and a child. She then took these books and toys into homes, demonstrated their use to mothers, had the parents try them under the supervision of the demonstrator, and left them with the mother. Levenstein reported that with thirty-two visits over a seven-month period, she had a seventeen-point IQ gain in her child population. That's equivalent to the effects of our child-centered infant-education project over a twenty-one month period with over 300 visits!

Levenstein's program sounds to me socially feasible. Is it possible that we could really enroll children in the educational process at birth and that educators could move out to work with parents on early education from that point onward? I realize this would take manpower. It would take money. But if we really feel we should move in this direction, perhaps we'll start to work on it.

Recapitulation

To summarize the conclusions I have come to from my own research:

1. Experience with lowest socioeconomic status black families shows that the genetic potential is there for higher levels of intellectual functioning. The challenge to society is to develop it.

2. The quality of family care, as well as supplementary tutoring, significantly influences early intellectual development of young children. The low IQ child in our infant-education study typically had a hostile, neglecting, distant mother.

3. Research suggests that varied, increasingly complex experience, accompanied by language stimulation, in the context of positive parent-child relationships, supports early language development and intellectual growth. These early experiences also foster the development of interest and curiosity, as well as of task-oriented behavior, all related to later reading success.

4. To maintain and increase levels of intellectual functioning, *continuing education* is essential.

5. Perhaps above all else there is need for training and experience in child care. We must prepare parents and future parents for their roles as educators.

6. The task is to strengthen the whole network of relationships that foster the development of the child. One of the challenges of the Seventies will be to bring fathers back into the home-education picture. Our concern must go beyond parent-child relationships; the mother-father relationship is also vitally important.

Today some people are proposing that we extend academic education down to three, for all children. Others are talking of extending education upward by having open-university enrollments for all. We can extend academic education downward and upward and still continue to do the same old thing. But doing that may consume all our educational resources, all of our money and our manpower for the next twenty years.

I wonder if we couldn't take a different tack, if we couldn't say education is going on in the family, it's going on in the community. Children can help educate one another. And schools can help prepare children as future parents.

The new model of basic education I have given the label of "Ur-education," "Ur" meaning basic, primitive, early. The model goes like this: a parent develops a positive relationship with a child, who reciprocates and in the context of this relationship is led to share activities, to develop interests. As the child develops language, the relationship is reinforced; and he also develops task-oriented skills: the ability to listen, concentrate, attend, focus, persist. This Ur-education model of the parent and child engaged together in an activity or exploring materials is the basis of all subsequent education.

Next Steps

Finally, I would like to suggest a few ways to implement this kind of thinking. We have been paying lip-service too long to thinking we are doing something about parent education. To strengthen and support family- and community-centered education we must

☐ Develop techniques of enrolling children in "school" at birth, by providing training for parents in child care and education—through summer workshops, home visits, and more effective use of mass media.

☐ Prepare teachers who see themselves as leaders of an educational team, with special focus on supporting the parental role of Ur-education. Building on the programs of Gray and Levenstein, we may need new training programs which prepare family educational consultants, teachers without classrooms, who visit families regularly on an inservice basis. *All* teachers would benefit from courses on the family as an educational institution.

☐ Establish a library of toys and materials on child development in each school that children can be taught to use with their younger siblings. We need to help children, boys as well as girls, develop roles and responsibilities as future parents—teaching them to teach each other.

Our ultimate goal will be a comprehensive, integrated system of education in which everyone is a student, everyone is a teacher throughout his life-span and throughout his life-space.

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Changing Roles for Women and Men

DEEDEE JAMESON AND ARMIN GRAMS

A: Let's begin by defining role changes, some reasons for these changes, and some of the implications. We've grown up assuming that one's gender determines a lot about how one behaves, but my basic point is that personality—what we are as persons—rather than gender should determine role behavior.

D: In terms of role behavior and change in roles, are you saying there are certain things that no longer need to be done?

A: Certain jobs may no longer be basic, but others are. When I talk about changing roles, I'm saying that who does them isn't determined any more by whether you're a male or a female.

D: For purposes of clarification, I wonder if we could determine what some of the jobs are that we feel still need to be done in our society.

A: Well, children take a long time growing up, so parenting is a job that still needs doing; children need to be cared for.

D: Why don't you explain what you mean by "parenting."

PARENTING: A FUNCTION, NOT A SENTENCE

A: Okay. To me "parenting" means nurturance, protection and the stimulation that children require to grow and develop optimally. The process of childrearing changes as children grow. The younger the child, the more dependent he is and the more nurturance and

Little-known facts about overblown gender stereotypes! Let's listen in on a free-wheeling dialogue about "people liberation."

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care he requires. As he matures, some needs diminish and others emerge. Parenting is a multifaceted role involving all sorts of different behavior that can be performed by anyone with the requisite skills. You don't have to be a biological parent in order to parent. Being one, for that matter, is no guarantee that you'll parent well. Making a baby doesn't make one an expert in caring for that baby. Yet most often parenting, especially while children are young, has been delegated to the mother, assuming that she would naturally know how to care for them. In contrast, a change that's occurring is in the direction of recognizing that some people, because of the way they are put together, are naturally more able than others to provide succor, support, protection, stimulation or whatever children need. If a man is suited by personality and inclination, the couple might decide that he stay at home and rear the children while the woman go off to be the traditional breadwinner. In other words, without regard to gender or biological parenthood, traditional mother and father roles could be reversed.

D: How about this, though: instead of a complete role reversal, where the mother assumes protection functions and the father provides the nurturance and stimulation, how about the possibilities of role-changing involving a mutual sharing and dividing of the parenting function. If we are really to become a society in which our roles are not locked into gender stereotypes, then we have to say that any human being can perform any role

**Photos by Signe Tronborg.
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unless there is some intellectual or physical limitation involved. So shouldn't we be able to arrange it so that each parent could perform an occupational role part-time and stay home part-time to "parent"? This kind of sharing would be much more self-fulfilling, I think.

A: Right, we don't just want to swap roles. I favor an arrangement where personality, availability, inclination, mood, interest and so on all combine to determine who might perform what role, when. Most of us are better at some things than others and usually assume certain roles, but they needn't become our exclusive domain. There can be flexibility even within continuity. It's funny how family roles get set in concrete so early. For example, I know a man who is a really great chef. But he won't boil water at home. He's convinced that cooking for the family at home is the woman's job. Or, if a man cooks, he must have a gourmet specialty or something. He isn't free to just cook once in a while if he feels like it, and especially if she doesn't. Okay. But how do roles get locked into such gender stereotypes?

AS THE TWIG IS BENT . . .

D: It starts to happen even before we're born. When I think of a pregnant couple, I think of one of the most absorbing questions asked during the pregnancy: "Do you want a boy or a girl?" That's all-important. The first question that people ask is not "Is it alive?" or "Is it well?", but "Is it a boy or a girl?" How many times I myself have been guilty! I always used to tie a little football on the outside of a baby gift if it was for a boy. The kid has no grasp yet, and I'm putting a football in his fist. This kind of thing we do all the time.

A: A neutral term like "having a baby" tends to get lost. Even for infants we have expectations linked to their gender. When we say "baby boy," the "boy" gets emphasized; and that can be bad, especially if he can't fill the bill as a boy because he's really a baby. It's subtle, but adult disappointments get through and influence the way children feel about themselves.

D: Right. And we also have evidence that from the very beginning babies are treated very differently. A male parent is much more apt to pick his boy baby up and toss him in the air and be rough with him. And so boy babies grow up with that kind of stimulation and we fall into the trap of saying that boys like rough treatment and they're much more active. We don't stop to think that from the very beginning we really treat the baby differently in the crib, depending on whether it is a male or a female.

A: Now that's basic to "people" liberation, allowing individuals to be real, to be themselves, to be whatever their unique mix makes it most possible for them to be. But it's easier said than done. Because from the moment a child is born, the brainwashing begins. Studies show that children very early learn to avoid certain things if they are a boy, or to do certain things if they are a girl.

D: I'm reminded of saying, when I taught young children and it was time to clear an area in the room, "Okay, who are the big strong boys who will come and help me move the tables and chairs?", instead of "We have some hard work to do, who will help?" We'd send girls to clean up the dress-up area. Why couldn't boys empty out the water and put away the clothes and tidy up that area? No, adults had already cast them into "appropriate" roles.

A: Do you find that parents today still have difficulty in accepting some of the activities that we allow both boys and girls to do in early childhood centers?

D: Accepting is a key word here. I think they sort of *tolerate* it, and children sense that. I remember one time when we were making puppets with children and we had lots of

remnants out so the children could select how they were going to dress the puppet, what would be glued on for shirts and pants or skirts or whatever. One little boy selected a very flowery pattern. When his mother saw it, she tolerated it. She didn't say, "Oh, you can't pick that because you're a boy and you should have stripes or a plaid or something." But her attitude wasn't one of true acceptance. I feel that a lot of parents, myself included, still have so many feelings to work out. I think that this is a whole avenue for people working in early childhood to explore. And we should work with parents on it.

A: Not only teachers and parents, but the bus driver, the janitor, the secretaries, the cooks, all influence the children. They too communicate role expectancies to children.

D: Just anybody in society—a grocer at the corner grocery store can create serious doubts in a child about his or her self-concept and about how he relates to others by the things he says to the child. He might make the child feel like a sissy because he's shopping for his mother. "Why doesn't your sister come for the groceries? It's a girl's job!" Everybody in society must be aware that role change is healthy, but it can't happen unless we search out our feelings and try to understand it.

GOALS AND ROLES

A: That makes me think about a question often raised with regard to the nature of change. Is change going to occur by chance, by design, or by mandate? I know I have frequently felt that my life was happening to me. Many of us have felt that things have happened to us, but probably not by our own design. As a boy I grew up in what McLuhan has called a goal-oriented era, in contrast to a role-oriented one. We paid practically no attention to what was happening to us; an experience was only important as it contributed to the end goal you had in mind. And yet, by focusing so hard on where we were going, we somehow missed the whole wonderful process of getting there. For example, I really don't remember enjoying college. The important thing was getting out and getting the job, because I was in college so that someday I could teach.

D: But even the process of teaching is sacrificed to a goal-orientation. We soon learn to do a good job teaching this year so that if there is a promotion next year, we'll be moved up. It starts when children are very little. Kindergarten has become a year to get the child ready for school instead of a good experience to have when he's five.

A: Well, look at our language. It's full of words that show we value something mostly for what it leads to. The "preschool" years, "preteen," "junior" high school, reading "readiness," even "premarital" relations—they're all terms that show our values and our biases. Like asking a child, "Well, what did you learn today?" instead of "Did you have a good day?" or "Was it fun?" Well, that's the difference between a goal-orientation and a role-orientation. Most of us grew up with the former and those goals were often wrapped up in gender stereotypes. So that because I was a boy, I grew up feeling that I had to get a job and work to somehow support a family. With girls it was different.

D: But still motherhood was in it.

A: Oh yes, very definitely.

D: And that was really the only valuable thing.

A: That reminds me: didn't we rear girls years ago to see their roles as related to their physical bodies? I don't think that was as true for boys. My body was something that carried me around. Beyond that it wasn't very much. Some studies indicate that most males include less of their physical nature in their self-concept, whereas girls do include more, and more often have good feelings about their body.

D: And there's a tremendous stress, I think, even in middle age. Women work a lot harder to keep physically attractive, but men can develop a pot and still be lovable and desirable.

A: Girls are less likely to value a boy in terms of his appearance. I found that strange because I grew up to value a female in terms of looks and I assumed you did the same thing. I think though that this is changing.

D: I think so, yes, definitely. Because it is part of the whole change of really appreciating a person for what he is. I think young people are really sincere about their love culture. I think that they are really trying to get to know one another. Now this reminds me of a point which I feel we should make about change, as such. I think that it is awfully important to get across the idea that this change need not be a scary, dangerous thing. The fact that our physical needs are being sufficiently met now means that we can concern ourselves less with physical survival and concentrate on emotional survival and the development of our human potentials. The change in roles of men and women is a part of a larger change, and it's a good thing. But if it is allowed to keep happening here and there without some kind of direction, that's what is frightening. Right?

A: Yes, the change in orientation is freeing us to relate in greater depth to one another than we have in the past. Once I was valuable primarily in terms of what I had accomplished and not because I could relate effectively to other people as a human being. As a teacher I was valued if the children did well on achievement tests. Of course, I'm afraid that there's still an element of that around, and in some school systems it's being overemphasized again today. A role-orientation asserts that a good teacher first and foremost relate effectively to the people he works with. In other words, the most important thing is the quality of the relationship between the people involved. Our humanity toward one another, how faithful and concerned we are in our efforts to help each other achieve our humanness more fully.

D: You know I'm reading *The Erotic Life of the American Wife*. One idea that threads through the book is that most middle-aged wives are dissatisfied women. Their husbands were reared to be goal-oriented—not role-oriented—and the women are finding that their entire interpersonal life is suffering. Yet at the same time I get the feeling from other things these women say that, if their husbands weren't out producing and performing the way they were socialized to perform as males in our society, the wives would still be dissatisfied. I don't think that within their own minds and hearts they have really resolved and come to terms with their priorities. Obviously if we are going to be role-oriented, we have to be willing to set aside some things which are now top priority. We have to say that the time we have to relate to each other is more important than owning this or that.

MORE LIVING WITH LESS

A: Yes. Now that triggers something else, and that is we're really not going to attain a role-oriented society, a society where human beings relate to each other as human beings and not in gender stereotypes, until we settle what our objectives really are. Are we basically acquirers, people who wish to have and to consume goods? Or are we basically people who want to relate, who want to communicate with other human beings? Chester Pierce said at ACEI in Denver last year that in working with young children in the future, we are going to have to teach them *to live with less*.* He meant that as world resources shrink in contrast to population, quite drastic alterations will need to be made in the expectations people have.

D: But these expectations will reflect what we demand.

A: That's exactly right. If we could learn to live with less, we could teach children that the possessive or acquisitive person is not the model, but that the communicating, the relating person is.

D: Is the family a consumer of things, or as someone has said, a producer of human capital? Can we do a better job at helping our children grow up, not in terms of male or female, but in terms of being human?

A: But can adults permit young people to do this? Can men, who I think need more liberation than women do, get to the point where they feel right about feeling: to have compassion, to cry, to feel deeply—both sorrow and joy—and to laugh heartily. Men find it so hard to allow the real feelings that they have to emerge. And because of this they're uneasy when they see this release in young people. Long hair still bothers a lot of men because it signifies softness, tenderness, nonaggressiveness and so on. And it's a shame that we're not allowing this to happen, we're not . . .

D: You know, I would venture a guess here that, even among young people themselves, there are certain times when expressive behavior for males would embarrass or upset people in a group of their own age, their own peers. We've gone much further in recognizing that women can be instrumental without being masculine than in acknowledging males can be expressive without being feminine.

CONTINUITY WITHIN CHANGE

A: Let's go back to this continuity thing. I think we agreed that change is not discontinuity or reversal, but the change is in the direction of a broadening acceptance of varieties of roles by individuals. Now . . .

D: That's a good definition.

A: Okay, now though, where's the continuity? In other words, are there things that will not change? For example, what about the ability to postpone gratification? This was something that a goal-oriented person had to cultivate. What about postponement, though, even in a society that may be more experience- or role-oriented? Can we truly value the process without totally abandoning goals and the need occasionally to wait for something we are working toward?

D: Well, I have been giving some thought to this question because one of the issues that I have raised is that it has been frightening for me to think of anybody starting out, a bundle of heredity, and growing up without some sort of expectations. I guess maybe the trouble is that so far the expectations have been largely locked into gender stereotypes. This is what we're trying to change. But what frightens me is that we can't change from what we have now to nothing—because I can't envision developing one's self-concept in a vacuum. It's always done in a situation of social relationships of some kind. How do we avoid confusion, anxiety, a feeling of no self-concept? I mean wouldn't it be worse to have no self-concept than to have a negative one or an anxious one?

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* See "Becoming Planetary Citizens: A Quest for Meaning," by Chester M. Pierce, M.D., in the November, 1972 issue of CHILDHOOD EDUCATION.

A: Or a limited one?

D: Right. Or a limited one, that's a better word. Because at least if you have a limited one, you've got something. All right, there are expectations, certainly, that we can have for people. There's a comfort in having someone expecting something of you. We can have expectations that are not necessarily gender stereotyped. We can say that certain behavior is responsible and other behavior is not responsible, using certain criteria, of course. That's where I think we avoid the person becoming completely hedonistic. We can help the child to remember, "I respect myself, I want and enjoy certain things. If I enjoy using this toy, then maybe many people will enjoy using it. And so I always have some responsibility to the other people with whom I live to remember that they are people too." And so maybe the expectation that they be responsible is one we can really ask of our children.

A: What this means, then, is that one of the qualities we need to encourage in children is that of internal control. There is a responsibility toward other human beings that requires self-control; and although that means limitation and possible postponement, without such limitations we jeopardize or destroy relationships. If we irresponsibly destroy the very basis of communication, trust itself, something's wrong with our priorities.

D: Yes. It isn't how you behave in terms of being a boy or a girl, but in terms of being humanly responsible for one another that counts. And that seems to me to be the kind of a direction that I feel is an enhancing rather than a limiting way of working with children.

A: Yes. Unless we rear children who can sort out their priorities and direct their behavior accordingly, when they grow up they will have to mandate change collectively. Pollution is a good example. We ought voluntarily to be giving up large numbers of internal combustion engines, because we've established that they are among the main polluters of our atmosphere. But most of us aren't self-disciplined enough to do it and so what I think will come, especially in our large metropolitan areas, are mandates or restrictive laws that will forbid ownership of more than one car, or require us to walk, or some such thing. Population is another example. In our country, particularly, there is a strong movement now, voluntarily to limit family size. But if that doesn't succeed, I look for society to regulate this by law. Nobody likes that prospect, but that's one of the ways change comes about.

D: And we've already mandated change in the whole area of equal employment. I wonder what other kinds of things might develop? For example, it might become a part of teacher certification that a person attend some kinds of classes or at least give some evidence of having thought through this whole business of attitudes about gender stereotypes. There might be whole courses in skills and techniques in communicating with children that break away from gender stereotypes. It just might get to the point that if people don't make these changes voluntarily, they will be directed to do so.

A: Well, perhaps that's a strong theme to close on; namely, that because our influences on the children whose development we guide are so enormous, we had better know where we're at with respect to a lot of the things we've been discussing. This means that teacher education and parent education are so important, because the relationship between us and young children is really the heart and core of the curriculum. I'll take my chances on all the rest if the quality of that relationship facilitates the development of human potentials.

See also:

Grams, Armin. "Contributions of Criticism to Parent, Family-Life and Sex Education." CHILDHOOD EDUCATION 48, 6 (Mar. 1972): 287-91.

"Learning from the Community." CHILDHOOD EDUCATION 48, 4 (Jan. 1972).

Williams, Bruce M., and John M. Johnston. "Of Hairy Arms and a Deep Baritone Voice." CHILDHOOD EDUCATION 47, 3 (Dec. 1970): 139-47.

> *"Our materialistic world is not going away; accordingly, we have to reckon with the incessant buy-ism surrounding our lives and the lives of our children."*

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Families, Mass Communications and the Marketplace

Gladys Gardner Jenkins

Hippity-hop to the barber shop
To buy a stick of candy,
One for you and one for me,
And one for sister Mandy.

THAT IS THE WAY the old nursery rhyme goes. Today's child might chant hippity-hop for a Big Burger, or hippity-hop to the supermarket for soda pop and chips or for "that swell machine gun they showed on TV." The desires of our children to *buy-buy-buy* go far beyond that original stick of candy. Despite increasing demands to reduce advertising aimed at the development of wants in children, too many commercial appeals are still being directed at the child market stimulating their desires to buy.

Parents find themselves faced with corresponding pressures to satisfy those created wants. Some of the most insidious pressures are directed at those who are particularly conscientious. Such advertising aims to make them feel that their child will be deprived or do less well in school if not provided with certain educational toys, games, encyclopedias, play equipment and what-not that are supposed to enhance and guarantee his or her development.

"Must" Toys

This created anxiety on the part of many parents to supply the so-called best for their children reflects an unfortunate cultural pattern that gives emphasis to owning what the marketplace provides and glamorizes so successfully.

Recently I was meeting with a group of young parents. An eager mother asked for a list of "must" toys. "You know, those toys that the experts say a child must have to grow up smart." In her mind and that of other members of the group, what is best is surely what the experts recommend. However, experts—particularly those who have become part of the marketplace—may be, at the least, biased. Not all recommended products for children are suspect, of course; but the products may not be as necessary for the development of children as their sponsors proclaim. Pressures to buy should be viewed with skepticism.

The satisfying allure of boxes, boards, big paper sacks, and treasures found around the house as sources of stimulation for creative children seems to be forgotten by many of today's parents and children. Or perhaps they have never experienced such pleasures.

One mother who knew the value of such play said, "I am desperate. When my children see the children on TV playing so enthusiastically with all kinds of store-bought toys, they whine at me. They keep pestering

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me with 'Why can't we have toys like that?' They seem to feel deprived. It is turning them away from playing creatively, as they had begun to do, with things they had found around the house and yard. I feel sad about it—and worse, I will probably go out in desperation and buy some of those things."

What are these pressures of the marketplace doing to both children and parents—indeed to all of us? Pressures on the consumer, young and old alike, are bearing down so intensely and repetitively that our consumer judgment is influenced and pushed aside for peace within the household. Just turning off the TV is too simplistic an answer. Among many other sources of pressure besides the TV are those of the group. Keeping up with the Joneses is not for adults alone. Children, too, want what the others want. All of us experience a media saturation which says over and over again, "*Spend*" . . . "Look how your needs can be fulfilled" . . . "Live the good life now" . . . "Be *with* it" . . . "There is credit to use" . . . "Buy now, pay later!" Adults of the community have the responsibility to work together to offset these pressures, to offer different values to the young.

Parents talk to me frequently of their concern that their children not get caught up in this current wave of buy-ism. Yet many confess frequent reluctance to use their own judgment for fear of increasing the hostility of their young. Decisions must be made in the daily life of every family—to buy or not to buy is a question that cannot be ignored.

Needs, Wants and Wishes

In making decisions, it helps to think in terms of *needs, wants* and *wishes.*

Needs are those things essential for our well-being, both physical and psychological. We *need* nourishing food. If your youngster wants a certain kind of highly advertised cereal for breakfast, you might buy it if it is indeed nourishing. But if it is overly sugared, you would be wise to resist firmly, with a simple and clear reason why.

The other day, when doing my marketing, I heard a small voice cheerily chanting, "Can't buy that, junk food, too much sugar hurts your teeth—right?" A lesson in consumerism had been taught well and taught young. It was obviously accepted with good humor.

The need to feel that you belong must be recognized and met when possible and reasonable to do so. Ten-year-old Guy had a chance to go on his first overnight camping trip—but some expense was involved. At first his mother felt it was an unnecessary expense—Guy had plenty of things to do at home. One look at his crestfallen expression convinced her that this trip had special importance for him. The budget was readjusted for the week, and a proud boy joined the campers early next morning. The invitation had meant a lot to Guy. He had often been taunted for being smaller than the other boys ("That little kid—we don't want him around"). Being asked on the camping trip made him feel that at last he was one of the big fellows, a very important recognition indeed.

We cannot always gratify even a real need. Finances do have to be considered. Understanding the family budget (within the ability of a child to do so) and later your *own* budget is part of consumerism. A child might really need a bicycle to be able to take part in the activities of friends, but the budget at the moment cannot stretch. Sympathetically considering a problem together—instead of dismissing it as out of the question—can be a big help. Plans to earn and save can also prove supporting to a child.

Such needs are different from wants. Children *want* many things. They are stimulated to want not only by commercials on TV and advertising in magazines and newspapers, but also by alluring displays in stores, from the supermarket to the toy store and the sports store, and things their friends have. "But Mother, *everybody* has one!" is a common threat to parents.

It is hard to distinguish between wants that are real and those of the moment. A child might really crave something that would add to an interest or a hobby. This desire would be well worth considering ("I do want that model plane to make. It will add to my collection. It's a beauty!"). If financially possible, one might find ways to provide a child with those things that satisfy a sensible and creative want.

But the temptation is often great to satisfy a want without consideration, just as a matter of keeping a child quiet in the supermarket or peace at home. To do so can be disaster. The child whose wants are fulfilled in this way becomes a demanding "gimme." Querulous "I-wants" should be out.

When the "I-wants" are frequent, they may indicate feelings of dissatisfaction within the self. They may be a call for material things for want of other forms of attention. Sometimes busy parents, who feel guilty because they have little time to give to a child, keep giving things instead. Children who feel that, unless they are being given material objects, their parents do not love them, must keep demanding and receiving to reassure themselves that their parents really do care.

If the "gimmes" or "I-wants" become a pattern, it is time to seriously consider what the youngster is trying to communicate through such a repetitive and demanding tone.

"I-wants" may also be indications of boredom. Passive TV watchers, who have few interests and few creative ideas, are often bored children who turn to things because they have never learned to be inventive in their play. Children are not alone in this failing—many restless people turn to the marketplace to fill gaps in their own life style.

Then we come to wishful thinking, the wishes that a child knows are not likely to come true. Alert parents can pick up those wishes and sometimes bring them to fruition. All children love surprises. All buying does not have to be utilitarian. Fun-buying within the limits of the budget can be learning too. A student-mother in one of my classes brought a beautiful fairy-tale book for me to see—"I just had to have it to share with Kate," she said, "even though it means spaghetti for us for the rest of the week!"

Parents as Teachers of Consumerism

We do not necessarily want to turn a child against the marketplace. Many things to buy do enhance life. But we want to teach values and a way of life that will help to counteract the pull of the advertiser and the buy-ism that are so prevalent everywhere. Helping a child decide whether he really wants something or really needs it leads to considered rather than impulsive buying. A child also needs to learn how to judge whether something that has appeal is *worth* buying.

I was intrigued with two small boys who were at the toy rack in the variety store. Evidently their weekly allowance was to be spent, a weighty decision. The younger one had picked out a shiny plastic car. His older brother was saying, "Don't waste your money. Remember the wheels came off the last one—it's junky." Wisdom learned from experience, perhaps from a father who had shown a disappointed child the difference between a car with wheels strongly fastened on and one in which the wheels could slip out. Experience plus a helpful lesson can make a great combination.

Toys and games advertised in cereal and other packages offer temptations to a child and problems to parents. It is difficult to help a child realize that such things will not perform as the glowing description on the box suggests. Instead of "No, you can't send for that, it's no good," we might do better to suggest, "I don't think you will find that a good toy, but let's send for it and then you can decide." Children usually learn quickly the disappointment of the gimmicky toy. Rearing skeptics of the marketplace may bode well for the future.

Parents are the first teachers of consumerism. Children absorb their family's values. They listen intently to discussions about purchases to be made, about ways money is to be spent. They profit even more if allowed to be active participants in the discussions. They soon learn whether family activities always involve the spending of money, or whether their family enjoys doing many things together that do not involve buying or spending.

Example is more powerful than preachment. Children are keen observers. They notice whether we do what we teach them to do. If we as parents are also obviously under the advertisers' spell and far too often find buying a satisfying leisure activity, we may find it more difficult to deny the clamorous wants of our children for things they demand as essential to their young lives.

Our materialistic world is not going away; accordingly, we have to reckon with the incessant buy-ism surrounding our lives and the lives of our children. Either we succumb to the pressures or develop a life style that keeps the pressures of buy-ism from crowding out and taking the place of those activities that give life its richness and its depth. Our real values, as we have the courage to live them in our families, will be our greatest strength. We can and we should alert our children to the pitfalls of the ways of the marketplace.

What Teachers Should Know About Stepfamilies

Marilyn Coleman, Lawrence H. Ganong and Jane Henry

IN A SOCIETY raised on Snow White and Cinderella, some writers are understandably fond of references to the negative connotations of stepfamily relationships. Comments such as ". . . the humanities . . . are the poor stepsisters of the professional programs . . ." and ". . . the parks have been relegated to the role of stepchild of state government" are examples. The metaphor has even appeared on the sports page, with one coach describing his team's pass receivers as the "stepchildren of the offense."

Add metaphor to fairy tale and it's no surprise that a group of college students recently described the word "stepmother" with such adjectives as "wicked," "moneygrubbing," "mean" and "homewrecking." The only surprise would occur if some of those college students didn't eventually become educators faced with the reality of the estimated 15 million children who live in stepfamilies (Visher and Visher, 1979).

Fairy tales aside, stepfamilies in real life are not new. Many of today's families would look no further than a few generations to find a steprelationship in the family tree. Indeed, many national heroes lived in stepfamilies: George Washington was a stepfather, and Abraham Lincoln was raised by a stepmother. President Reagan and wife Nancy have a stepfamily.

Although an exact count is lacking in current population data, Visher and Visher (1979) estimate that one of every seven children is a stepchild. They further project that one-third of all minor children live in family forms other than nuclear families with two biological parents. It appears entirely possible that stepfamilies and single-parent families will outnumber nuclear families by the year 1990 (Visher and Visher, 1979). Yet stepfamilies (as well as single-parent families) are considered by many to be aberrations in which happiness and normal human development are too much to expect.

Schools are second only to the family in the socialization of children, including stepchildren. An important product of that process is the perception each child develops of him or herself as a member of society. Schools and teachers have an obligation to accept every child's background and family situation as a legitimate base from which the child can become a happy and responsible adult. Unfortunately, the experiences of some stepfamilies suggest that many schools and teachers are not yet equal to the task.

Stepfamilies and the School

In the cramped space provided on many school forms, it's a challenge to find space for a stepparent's or a non-custodial parent's name, address and phone. For the child who spends time in both households, all information could be critical, especially in an emergency.

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Teachers sometimes lapse into embarrassed silence when two sets of parents show up for Back-to-School night. A parent/teacher conference has a needlessly poor beginning when a teacher greets the parents with "You must be Mr. and Mrs. Brown," only to discover that they are Mr. and Mrs. Green, stepfather and biological mother of Susan Brown. School letters and announcements addressed to "The Brown Family" can also create uneasiness.

While showing some improvement, educational materials continue to over-represent the nuclear family unit with two parents and their children. This confronts the stepchild with the subtle message that his or her own family form doesn't quite measure up.

Though the translation may be obvious to adults, a very young child might literally "fear discovery" when bringing a stepparent (instead of a parent) to "Parents' Night." Yet few teachers avert such misunderstandings by reassuring children in advance about the variety of individuals appropriately included in such an event.

Even more difficult to recognize and change are the subtle attitudes a teacher may have about children from non-traditional families. A pair of Texas researchers found that teachers perceived behavior of children from father-absent homes more negatively than the same behavior of children from nuclear families (Santrock and Tracy, 1978). Although not a study of stepchildren, per se, this research raises suspicion that teacher attitudes toward all non-traditional family forms may need examination.

What can be done to ensure that teachers' attitudes are more enlightened than those of society as a whole? Logically, teachers should be trained to understand students from all family types. But even in teacher training programs that present strategies for parental involvement, few offer information specifically about stepfamilies. Furthermore, the research on stepfamilies is extremely limited and the findings sometimes conflicting. It would be inexcusable, however, to wait for either new training approaches or final research conclusions to begin raising teacher awareness about stepfamilies. The following suggestions might serve as a starting point.

School-Stepfamily Relationships

☐ Don't assume stepchildren will have problems. They must make adjustments, it's true, but research suggests that they are no more likely to have problems than other children (Ganong and Coleman, 1984; Wilson et al., 1975).

☐ Consider the message your language conveys. Referring to the biological parent as the "natural" or "real" parent seems to imply that the stepparent is "unnatural" or "not real." The term "broken home" is also unnecessarily negative. Don't use the term "stepchild" as a metaphor for "abused," "neglected" or "unloved"; e.g., "This program is the stepchild of the school system." Such language reinforces the negative connotations of being a stepchild and conveys attitudes and messages of which teachers may be unaware. Cultivate a sensitivity to both attitudes and messages.

☐ Use caution in making assumptions about a stepchild's home life. Stepfamilies exist in as many as 30 structural variations, depending on such variables as whether the stepparent has children and possibly custody of those children and whether the couple has children of the new marriage.

☐ Be sensitive to family name differences. Addressing letters and announcements to "The Jones Family" when John Jones lives with Mr. and Mrs. Smith may seem minor, but it underscores the family's difference from the "ideal." Greeting parents can be simplified by saying, "You must be John's parents." Stepparents can then respond positively, electing to reveal or not reveal their stepfamily status.

☐ Know the legalities regarding various family forms. It may be important to know, for example, which children are involved in custody disputes as a precaution against child-snatching. Know the rights, or lack of rights, of non-custodial parents and stepparents. If all parents want to cooperate in raising a child, it's important that the school be able to support such efforts without making someone feel like the "odd-man-out." This may mean two parent/teacher conferences for some children, or duplicate grade reports in some cases.

☐ Consider providing parent education materials for stepparents. Some stepparents are brand new to the parenting role and they may be highly motivated, but unskilled. Parenting classes offered by the school could be helpful. Educational approaches have been found more palatable to some stepparents than counseling.

☐ Avoid promoting activities that put stepchildren in awkward positions. If father-son projects and Mother's Day projects can't be avoided, be sensitive to the problems they can create for children. Stepchildren often struggle with problems of divided loyalty between the stepparent and the absent biological parent. The insensitivity of some school events and projects only aggravates those conflicting feelings. Some schools limit the number of guests for certain school events. If possible, exceptions should be considered for children who have both parents and stepparents. Ideally, the child shouldn't have to face formidable channels of red tape to receive such consideration. Because children often hesitate to call attention to their circumstances, schools should keep records on the family status of students and attempt to anticipate such problems.

☐ Consider the positive aspects of stepfamily living. Knowledge of stepfamily strengths can help overcome negative stereotypes. Some potential strengths include:

Flexibility. Stepchildren often learn to adjust to living in different value systems. They may adapt more easily, therefore, to such transitions as new teachers, changes from one school to another and varying discipline standards of different teachers.

Multiple role models. Stepchildren have the firsthand opportunity to observe different parenting behaviors. Consequently, they will have more models from which to choose when they become parents themselves.

Experience with conflict resolution. It's been said that stepchildren should be outstanding in management. They often learn to negotiate and have positive relationships with people who may be hostile to each other (i.e., their divorced parents).

Extended kin network. Rather than two parents and four grandparents, many stepchildren have three or four parents plus a host of grandparents who care about them.

Higher standard of living. Most stepchildren previously lived in single-parent families, often with limited resources. Total family income frequently increases with remarriage.

Happy parents. Remarriage may provide a more supportive emotional environment because the parents are happier. Children who experienced hostility in the previous family might benefit greatly from the more caring environment. Happier remarriages may also provide exposure to a good model of marital interaction.

Additional siblings. Only-children particularly may enjoy new siblings if a parent marries someone with children. Learning new skills of negotiation and conflict resolution with stepsiblings may strengthen their interpersonal skills in general.

☐ Try to find classroom materials that represent stepfamily lifestyles. Available materials are limited, and some are so poor they should be avoided. Suggested resources include the following:

Bunting, Eve. *The Big Red Barn.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1979. Building a new barn after the old one burns illustrates changes in life, including the death of a mother and the beginning acceptance of a stepmother. Ages 5-8.

Ewing, Kathryn. *A Private Matter* (1975) and *Things Won't Be the Same* (1980). New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich. The first book deals with the longing of 9-year-old Marcy for a father (she has not seen her own father since she was little) and her attachment to an elderly male neighbor. In the sequel, Marcy is upset by her mother's remarriage and further upset when she learns she'll be spending some time with her father and stepmother. Realistic portrayal of the difficulty of making adjustments in stepfamilies. Ages 10 up.

Gardner, Richard. *The Boys and Girls Book About Stepfamilies.* New York: Bantam, 1982. Best for adolescents. Useful information on a variety of relevant topics, but some suggestions are questionable.

Green, Phyllis. *A New Mother for Martha.* New York: Human Sciences Press, 1978. Story of a 1st-grade girl whose widower father remarries. Martha insists her dead mother will return.

Hunter, Evan. *Me and Mr. Stenner.* Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1976. Realistic portrayal of an 11-year-old girl and her relationship with her father and stepfather. Ages 11 up.

LeShan, Eda. *What's Going to Happen to Me?* New York: Four Winds Press, 1978.

Lewis, Helen. *All About Families — The Second Time Around.* Atlanta: Peachtree, 1980. Good for family reading. Includes adult-child "discussion starters."

Martin, Ann M. *Bummer Summer.* New York: Holiday House, 1983. Good picture of the early transition to stepfamily living. A 12-year-old girl acquires a stepmother and two much younger stepsiblings. Ages 10 up.

Sobal, Harriet, and Patricia Agre. *My Other Mother, My Other Father.* New York: Macmillan, 1979. Illustrated. Appropriate for younger grades.

Stenson, Janet. *Now I Have a Stepparent and It's Kind of Confusing.* New York: Avon, 1979. Can be read to preschoolers. Also appropriate for older children.

Vigna, Judith. *Daddy's New Baby.* Niles, IL: Albert Whitman & Co., 1982. A near disaster helps a child of divorced parents soften her feelings toward her father's new baby. Preschool picture book.

Conclusion

Stepfamilies are here to stay. Children have to make adjustments as a family changes from one "shape" to another, but research suggests that most children manage quite well. Stepfamily members generally try to help each other grow and live fulfilled lives. Schools can either help or hinder their efforts. With extra sensitivity, thought and planning, teachers and schools can support and encourage stepchildren and their families. How can you and your school take a *step* in the right direction?

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When Parents of Kindergartners Ask "Why?"

Barbara Simmons and JoAnn Brewer

Teachers and principals regularly encounter the task of answering parents' questions about early childhood education. Motivated by genuine concern, parents sometimes ask questions that reveal misconceptions about the goals of a kindergarten program which cause them to focus only on cursory academic skills like knowing the alphabet and reciting numerals. When a principal or teacher answers their questions adequately, however, with emphasis on all areas of a child's development, their concerns diminish and their knowledge increases. Typical questions are addressed here and references provided for parents who want further information.

1. When will my child begin to read?

Reading is a continuum that began when your child first started to use language; it will continue well into adult life. Even though our culture presently dictates that formal reading should begin early, much research tells us that an informal beginning eventually produces more skilled and willing readers. The most important component of the reading process is *learning to love and appreciate books*. Recognition of individual words follows—but must never precede—this step. Another vital ingredient in reading successfully is *the reader's background of experience*. One of the important functions of the early childhood teacher is to build children's non-visual experiences so that meaning can be attached to print. *Oral language development* is the third major area of reading instruction for young children. Phonetically decoding words is of no value to children when the words have no meaning.

In addition to all of these areas of reading, children in an early childhood classroom have many opportunities to practice perceptual skills necessary for reading. Reciting and writing the alphabet are not prerequisites for learning to read; but a love of books, a broad experiential background and oral language skills are essential (Durkin, 1983; Clay, 1981).

2. Is the kindergarten teacher really getting my child ready for 1st grade?

Your child's teacher is working very hard to help each student make the transition

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Photos by Barbara Simmons

from home to school. Activities are planned that will develop independence, enhance motor skills, encourage creative thinking and promote the ability to cooperate with others. Students do learn many skills that will help them to be successful 1st-graders, but pushing them into academic areas too soon has a negative effect on learning. David Elkind explains the problem in his book *The Hurried Child* (1982).

3. Why is it so noisy in my child's classroom?

Promoting children's language development is one of the primary goals of early childhood education. Research clearly indicates that classrooms that do not stimulate talking retard language development (Petty and Starkey, 1967). Teachers who encourage verbal interaction make it possible for children to improve their communication skills. Also, a good early childhood environment is active. Hammering, singing, building, cooking, manipulating and role-playing are the child's work. Teachers who are aware of young children's need for involvement provide a variety of activities, resulting in a room that is filled with the busy sound of students working (ACEI et al., 1979).

4. Why does the teacher encourage the children to play with sand, water and blocks? Aren't these activities a waste of time if the child is old enough to be in school?

Play is the way a young child learns most efficiently. Rather than waste time telling young children about concepts such as texture and weight, high and low, liquid and solid, the teacher lets the children learn the concepts through manipulation of real materials. Working with open-ended materials such as sand, water and blocks is particularly effective as children strive to solve problems and attain social skills.

A child working with sand, for example, wants to mold the sand to hold the shape of a container. To achieve this goal, the child experiments with various ratios of sand and water until exactly the right formula is achieved. Because there are no "right" and "wrong" answers, the child is free to learn without pressure or fear of making an error. The freedom to be in control of the situation helps the child achieve a sense of competency and self-worth. The child is usually compelled to share the sand table with other children and has an opportunity to practice the social skills of joining a group—learning to ask for needed materials in ways that produce desired results and learning how others perceive his/her actions. Playing with sand, water and blocks can help a child learn in the most efficient manner possible (Hirsch, 1974).

5. When will my child learn to count to a hundred?

Many children can count when they enter an early childhood program; however, they do not really understand a number's meaning. Working with manipulatives promotes the ability to conceptualize numbers. Students who can relate the numeral *five* to five objects have a more important skill than those who can count by rote to one hundred (Kamii, 1982).

6. If we had some math problems to work at home, wouldn't my child learn to add and subtract more quickly?

The paper-and-pencil math we learned as children is not really an indication of understanding or learning. In our programs, we are much more concerned with the development of concepts than paper-and-pencil skills. Children playing games, for example, must learn to divide the pieces so that the amounts are equal for each player. They learn number concepts and operations with real materials that can be manipulated. Children work often with blocks, beans, sticks and other appropriate materials to help them truly understand math.

If you would like your child to be involved in homework that will be meaningful, suggest that she/he 1) keep score in family games, 2) set the table (counting correct number of plates, glasses, silverware), 3) help cook (measure ingredients), 4) fold laundry, 5) play shape-search around the house, 6) grow flowers and record vital information, or 7) decide how to apportion materials fairly. All of these activities and others that imaginative parents invent help the child achieve a real understanding of mathematical concepts without the pressure of memorizing and recording symbolically.

Writing problems not only fails to indicate levels of knowledge, but puts excessive pressure on the child who does not have the fine motor control necessary for making numerals correctly. Many children do not achieve this control for a few years after they begin school, but their mathematical progress should not be delayed because of poor motor control (Kamii, 1982).

7. Why hasn't my child learned to write the alphabet?

Many children do not have the fine motor skills necessary to write letters correctly. When forced to try too early, the result is frustration. Your child is learning songs and finger plays about the sounds of letters. The ability to hear these sounds is much more closely related to beginning reading than writing the alphabet. Fine motor skills are being developed as students handle tools, manipulate clay and work puzzles (Tway, 1983).

8. How can the teacher possibly teach my child to pay attention to instructions

when there are so many activities going on at once?

Teachers of young children know that whole-group instruction is rarely productive. They deliberately schedule small groups and often engage in one-to-one instruction for brief periods throughout the day. Small-group instruction and individual instruction have been found to be more effective for young children. For example, you may notice the teacher asking a few children to recall the events of a story while other children work around the room in various learning areas. Such an activity would lose much of its effectiveness if the whole group tried to respond at once: for some, the activity would be too complex and for others, too easy; for the shy child, there is no chance to answer. Teaching is taking place even when the teacher is not standing in front of the class. One of the important functions of teachers of young children is setting up the learning environment so that predetermined goals can be achieved. If you observe closely, you will find that new materials are being added, physical arrangements are being modified, and people and communities are being utilized as resources for the children.

Providing multiple activities for children 1) allows the teacher to match the child's individual needs with a learning activity; 2) encourages children to develop self-direction; and 3) gives children the chance to rely on their own initiative in solving problems through using resources such as books, peers and other adults, rather than assuming only the teacher has the answers. Children who work in a learning environment where choices are encouraged will learn independent work habits and cooperative attitudes (Almy, 1966; Labinowicz, 1980).

9. Why aren't grades given? How will I know that my child is making progress?

Grades are inadequate for evaluating many aspects of your child's development. Socialization skills, physical ability and emotional maturity are easier for your child's teacher to analyze in a conference with you. A folder of work, checklists, anecdotal records and answers to your specific questions will provide you much more information about your child's achievements than a simple grade (Manning and Manning, 1981).

10. Why doesn't the teacher put more emphasis on being obedient, sitting still and walking in straight lines?

Teachers of young children are not encouraging unruly behavior or disobedience. They are attempting to provide a learning atmosphere in which children will be able to develop self-control rather than merely conform to the autocratic control of the teacher. This means that the adult is very much in control, but children are allowed to make choices when they have the maturity and experience to do so. To illustrate, children might be asked if they prefer to listen to a story or play quietly with clay. The choice of listening to a story carries with it the obligation not to disturb the reader or other listeners.

Teachers attempt to require from children only those developmentally appropriate behaviors which enhance learning. Young children learn best when actively involved; therefore, requiring them to sit still for long periods of time may be detrimental to their learning as well as physically inappropriate. Children can learn to be thoughtful of others as they move from place to place without the requirement of walking in a straight line. The goal of self-discipline is well worth the time and effort required for achievement (Gilstrap, 1981; Stone, 1980).

11. Why doesn't the teacher spend more time teaching the children to read and less time reading them stories?

Children who are introduced to a large number of outstanding books are likely to develop a love for literature that will last throughout their entire lives. Books provide a vehicle for developing comprehension when students are asked to retell stories or engage in dramatic play. When books are read to them frequently, children learn to predict words and sentence patterns of books that they will read. These skills are an integral component of the reading process (Butler and Clay, 1982; Trelease, 1982).

12. My child seems to waste a lot of time in cooking and playing in the housekeeping center. Shouldn't school time be devoted to academic learning?

Cooking is an activity that involves many subject matter areas. As an example, when the children participted in making tortillas they learned more than you might guess. They bought the ingredients at the supermarket and learned classification skills as they discovered why ingredients were grouped together on the shelves. They learned reading skills as they chose a brand of flour and math as they computed the price of groceries and calculated change. They also learned about roles of various store employees.

Math skills continued as the children measured ingredients, and new vocabulary developed as they labeled utensils and tools required in the cooking. Changes were observed when ingredients were combined and heat applied. They began to develop an understanding of similarities in two cultures when tortillas and bread were compared. They also practiced table manners and the social skills of using appropriate dinner-table conversation while eating. A teacher planning to teach anthropology, mathematics, social studies, reading, language arts and science could not have planned a more efficient lesson.

Play in a dramatic play or housekeeping center can be valuable in teaching academic skills, as well as social skills. Academically, children learn reading skills when they match labels. They learn math as they group, quantify, classify and seriate. Social concepts are gained when pupils pretend to be members of groups, such as families, or various occupations such as baker or salesperson. Science is learned by mixing water and soap, trying to make dishes float, and getting doll clothes dry.

Socially, dramatic play offers children the unique opportunity to practice various life roles and actions required in that role. They can try out a role as they perceive it and get feedback from their peers to test the accuracy of their perceptions without the threat of being "corrected" by the teacher. A child grows socially as behaviors are tried in the safe environment of the dramatic play center. A child may need to experience being the bully and can do so safely in a play situation. The child learns how others react to being bullied and can stop the behavior when it becomes threatening. Other learning areas often fail to provide the child with these opportunities for social development (Markun, 1974; McAfee et al., 1974).

13. What is my son doing playing with dolls in the housekeeping center? (or) Why is my daughter pretending to be a firefighter in the dramatic play area?

In early childhood classrooms both boys and girls are encouraged to think divergently about future careers and are given many opportunities to test their aptitudes. A variety of manipulative tasks, nurturing experiences and artistic activities are offered to both boys and girls (Cohen, 1976; Sprung, 1975).

14. Isn't there a great deal of time spent playing games?

Playing games is a very effective way of getting children to listen and follow direc-

Kindergartners at Iles Elementary School, Lubbock, Texas.

tions. Fingerplays, for example, enlarge children's vocabularies, enable them to demonstrate physically that they are listening carefully and lengthen attention spans. Many games that are played during recess, math and music require children to organize their thoughts and sequence their actions (Kamii and DeVries, 1980).

15. Why don't they play baseball in kindergarten?

When children engage in highly organized sports too soon, a few students will experience success and others, lowered self-esteem. Physical development is stressed daily, but teachers try to avoid games that make it necessary for children to stand quietly and wait their turn. Children learn by doing, not by watching (Lundsteen and Tarrow, 1981).

16. Why wasn't my gifted child placed in 1st grade and allowed to skip kindergarten?

Even children who are gifted academically often need to develop physical and social skills. Cooperating and competing with peers make it possible for young children to nurture healthy self-concepts. Also, the long-term results of skipping need to be considered. How will being the youngest affect your child during puberty, in athletics and at college entrance age? The teacher will endeavor to improve your child's ability to solve problems and think critically. The focus will be on the processes of learning, not just content (Elkind, 1982).

17. As a parent, what can I do at home to help my child?

Parents make valuable contributions to their child's progress in several ways. First, read to your child frequently. Children need to hear the language of books and to know that their parents value reading. Second, talk to your child. Discuss what you see, hear, smell, think, remember and feel. Children need to know that their parents are genuinely interested in what they say. Writing with your child is another means of encouraging growth: 1) write stories as your child dictates them and bind them into simple books; 2) let your child participate in writing letters and thank-you notes; 3) allow your child to help write shopping lists or fill out orders for merchandise; and 4) write notes to communicate tasks.

Broaden your children's experiences by taking them to various stores. Numerous learning experiences are possible in barber shops, hardware stores and plant nurseries, as well as in grocery stores, zoos and airports. Libraries and museums are other community resources not to be overlooked. Many of these activities cost nothing, yet they provide children with important real-life experiences.

You can help your child achieve by helping him/her learn to solve problems and be responsible. Finally, please don't pressure your child to express all knowledge with pencil and paper. Accept other means of expression: movement, drama, music and art are valid and worthwhile. Be a thinking parent who gets involved in your child's learning; you will then be able to find many activities to help your child learn at home (Baron et al., 1983; Olmsted et al., 1980).

When teachers and principals give knowledgeable answers to questions about early childhood and teaching strategies, parents gain more confidence in the school and its personnel. Investing time during these first contacts promotes positive communication and creates long-time rewards for all—children, parents, teachers and administrators.

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Involving Parents in Children's Learning

ELIZABETH JONES

"LEAVE TEACHING TO TEACHERS!" Traditionally many schools have so indoctrinated parents, who for their part have been further advised to: get children to school regularly, see that they do their homework, come to school when there are problems to discuss with the teacher, and attend parent meetings. In recent years parents' presence in schools has become more frequent, as in cases where parent-teacher conferences have been adopted as a method of reporting on the child's work or, especially, where parents are involved as teacher aides in the classroom.

In all these parent-school contacts, fruitful as they often are, the initiative is the school's. The teacher, not the parent, remains on familiar ground and in control. This advantage may not matter so much to middle-class parents, who are likely to have had relatively successful school experiences themselves and who can communicate as equals with middle-class teachers. For parents from different subcultures, who speak the teacher's language neither figuratively nor, in some cases, literally, the disadvantage is much greater. Out of fear or cynicism, they may simply ignore the school's invitation to visit. As they see it, the news they would get from the teacher about their child isn't likely to be good anyway.

Rapho Guillumette (Bruce Roberts), *above*

Parents whose daily reality is too far removed from the school's will turn off the school. So will their children. Preschool programs, special methods—none of these can be expected to have lasting impact on children unless schools are also able to help children understand the things that have immediate importance in their lives outside the school. This kind of relevance depends on home-school communication.

Pre- and in-service teachers learn to work with families and to build relationships with them. Parents learn to gain understanding and appreciation of their children—and to do things in the home that contribute to children's growth. Read all about it in this lively account of a project that abounds with practical suggestions! Elizabeth J. Jones is Director of Graduate Studies at Pacific Oaks College in Pasadena, California.

—Bill Anderson, New York, *below*

If schools encourage parent involvement, they can become learning settings for parents as well as children, and parents will change. If parents are really involved in schools, schools will also change. For teachers accustomed to organizing classrooms in orderly fashion so they can teach comfortably, change may produce anxiety. If, however, the order of the self-contained classroom is unrelated to the disorder of the world outside it, children who must also live in that outside world will not learn very much in the classroom. Teachers need to take risks of exposing themselves to the children's out-of-school environment enough to develop real empathy. Leaving the security of the classroom to make home visits is often uncomfortable—but it offers promise of new learning for teachers as well as for parents and children.

Home Visiting: Giving Parents the Advantage

Home visits permit the *parent* to remain on familiar territory and in control—to be home or not, to invite the teacher in or not. Away from school a teacher finds it harder to "stick to the point" and to "use time efficiently"; interruptions may be frequent and the teacher ill at ease.

Why, then, make home visits? For several good reasons. *First* is the building of trust, in both parents and children: the teacher is a human being who cares enough about the child to visit his family. Families who have experienced social agencies as overwhelmingly impersonal find that personal visits by someone from the school make it a less forbidding place.

Second, observing and talking about the child at home helps the teacher understand him better. At home, the parent is more likely to do the talking—to explain what the child is like there. (In parent-teacher conferences at school, the teacher too often does all the talking, telling about the child's school achievement or lack of it.) Home and school, after all, are complementary learning environments. Parents as well as teachers teach. Parent and teacher share responsibility for keeping track of where a child is in his learning, knowing what he can do and what he can't and what his interests are. They need to share their knowledge of the child.

Third, acquaintance with the family may offer clues to why the parents raise their children as they do. A teacher is sometimes critical of parents ("It must be *their* fault that this child has problems in my class"). Although this stance may make the teacher feel good, it isn't helpful. A crucial aspect of any home, as a setting for parents and children to live and learn together, is the degree of flexibility it offers the parents, particularly the mother. The critical visitor might well pause to ask, "What alternative courses of behavior are realistically open to this parent?" Some parents *have* no available alternatives. Their resources are severely limited, and nothing a part-time visitor can do is going to make any real difference.

Mrs. Chandler, for example, has seven children under 9, no husband at home, no relatives or friends in the community to count on for help, and no telephone. As she explained to a visiting teacher after she had become comfortable with her, "Whenever I really seem to get everything together some little thing happens to ruin it." The visitor to such a family can usually do little more than offer a friendly, listening ear and, on her own part, deepen her understanding by sharing something of the reality-based despair experienced by the family—but so doing may help a family feel the school is not one more outside pressure but includes someone who cares.

Fourth, the teacher may use home visits to help parents enrich the home as a learning environment for children. This goal may, in fact, be the stated reason for visiting, as it was in the project in which the approaches described in this article were developed.* "Getting down to business" in this sense, however, requires a basis of trust and understanding.

The effective visitor is one who can identify and make available *alternatives for the parent* that are both practical and consistent with the parent's values and that increase the potential stimulation for children's learning at home. Choice among the alternatives necessarily remains the parent's.

Mrs. Burnett's home visitor, Mrs. T., was disturbed by Mrs. Burnett's stay-at-homeness and did her best to offer alternatives. She offered to baby-sit during a school meeting, to provide transportation, to take the children to the playground, to take the whole family on a picnic. The mother consistently found excuses to stay home, unless the children went too. Some of her fears about the outside world became clearer to Mrs. T. when they took the children to the park and the mother, usually very passive, reacted with great energy and fury to a brief scuffle between her five-year-old and a white boy, telling her son fervently not to let anyone push him around.

Support throughout the school year got results. In spring, after Mrs. T. had stopped actively trying to get the mother out, the mother did go to the store by herself and finally took initiative in going to a parent meeting at school, leaving the visitor to baby-sit.

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* Project 149202, Preparing Teachers To Involve Parents in Children's Learning, Pacific Oaks College under a grant from the U.S. Office of Education, Education Professions Development Act, Early Childhood Program.

In this project 20 preservice and inservice teachers of young children made weekly home visits to disadvantaged families with the goal of enriching children's home learning environments. Some were the teacher of one of the children in the family; others recruited, through various sources, families new to them. Each visitor developed his own approach to working with a family, reported in writing on the visits, and discussed them in a weekly seminar and in conferences with project staff. Emphasis was placed on promoting diversity of approach, to utilize the divergent competencies of teachers in meeting the varied needs of families.

What Happens on Home Visits?

The home visitor needs to begin with a tentative definition of his role: What will he do and say when requesting an appointment with a parent and upon arrival at the home? We originally suggested the following possibilities to our teacher-visitors:

1. *Teacher-expert* ("I need your help in teaching your child. Some of the things I do at school can also be done by you at home. I'll tell you about them and demonstrate them with your child. If you also teach him it will help him learn faster and better, since more of his time is spent at home and since at school I can't give him as much individual attention.")
2. *Teacher-learner* ("To be a good teacher, I need to know what children learn at home as well as at school. You know your child better than anyone else does. You can help me understand your child better—what he is interested in, what he is good at, what you want him to learn.")
3. *Student-researcher* ("I'm working on a project in which we're trying to learn more about the different ways parents raise their children and about the kinds of things children learn at home. We need to know these things if changes are to be made in schools so they can do a better job of teaching your children.")
4. *Bringer of gifts* ("We use a lot of things in school—games, books, puzzles and things—that parents might also use at home to keep the children busy and to help them learn. We have some things, and some ideas for making more, that we would like to try out in some homes to see how mothers and children like them. I'd like to bring something new for your children to do every week, and try it out with your children, and let you keep it so you can tell me how it works out.")

Each visitor chose a role or combination of roles he thought would feel comfortable. Often, experience with the family led to changes in teacher expectations and behavior and the invention of new roles.

Some visitors discovered how limited the opportunities were for some families to go outside the home and immediate neighborhood and how little these families knew about the community. Mrs. R. became a *guide to community resources* for the Gutierrez family when she learned the mother thought you had to pay to use the public library. She helped the family get library cards and took them on other trips too—frog-catching in the nearby arroyo, picnicking in the park, even to the beach (including Mrs. R's own children as well).

Home tutoring by the teacher, or training the parent as a tutor, is not always the most effective way of improving a child's school achievement. If he is unsuccessful in school tasks, spending more time outside of school on them may simply compound his feelings of inadequacy. Sometimes an indirect approach, in which the teacher makes friends with the child in a relaxed setting rather than increasing the pressure on him, may pay off in enabling him to increase his confidence and competence in school.

Visitors who tried to go into homes with a definite "lesson plan" for a specific occasion were frequently frustrated. They learned to plan in the form of hypotheses—contingency statements full of ifs and thens:

- "If the children are napping, then I'll have a chance to talk to the mother . . ."
- "If I go on Saturday, the father will be home . . ."
- "If I bring a recipe for playdough, I can involve the mother in getting the ingredients and mixing it."

The home visitor's predictions, beginning with the expectation that the family will be at home, frequently turn out wrong. Alternative strategies need to be ready.

Plan for visit (Stone family):
Getting acquainted and putting mother at ease by letting her know what we are doing at the center—what kinds of activities her children are doing and some special thing about each child.

What happened:
When I arrived mother was involved with sister-in-law, who evidently is going through marital difficulties and had brought her two youngsters over. I decided to skip the visit with mother and show the children the things I had brought—something for each child.

I decided not to rush into setting a specific time with mother as I was gaining many insights into the developmental stages of the children. The better I know their needs the easier it will be to talk to the mother.

Planning is primarily a historical process. Not until something has happened—the visit has been made—does the visitor have objective information on which to make ongoing plans in terms of his general goals. By observing and evaluating what happens at each visit, the visitor has some bases for narrowing the range of possible alternatives, but *never* for plans that do not include alternatives. The family needs to have choices among the resources the visitor has to offer.

Who Has Time for Home Visits?

Head Start teachers with half-day sessions are usually expected to visit families during the other half of their working day. Teachers of single-session kindergartens may similarly make home visits. But what about elementary teachers or kindergarten teachers with two sessions and 50 or 60 children? Their days are already full to bursting.

Visits with the goal of parent involvement can appropriately be made not only by teachers, but also by classroom aides or student teachers and by persons not involved in the child's classroom, including parent volunteers and paid paraprofessionals (who may also be parents). Both student and professional teachers should have the opportunity to earn college or inservice credit for making and reporting on home visits, with professional supervision available. The firsthand learning about family living and social problems which takes place is at least as valuable as that gained in conventional classes in these subjects. The role assumed by the visitor will vary with his professional status, age, sex, and experience; the variety of useful roles is considerable.

Teachers are more likely to make visits if schools can allow them flexibility in defining their working time. Early afternoon is *not* a good visiting time in some families; evenings and weekends must sometimes be scheduled for greatest effectiveness. Getting acquainted with fathers—one of the special benefits of home visiting—requires adjustment to their working hours. A teacher who can leave school early on some days as compensation for visits made outside working hours has real encouragement to visit where and when he sees the need.

Who Should Be Visited?

Some half-day compensatory education programs require teachers to make regular visits to all families. Where this requirement is taken seriously, it prevents teachers from exercising judgment about which families would really benefit from intensive visiting and which don't need it or might better be approached some other way.

If the teacher's time is very limited, he is most likely to consider contacting families whose children are having particular problems in school. This is a sensible criterion, if the visiting can be approached positively and can be viewed by the family as friendly and helpful rather than as implying criticism.

Summary

Home visiting offers promise of increasing learning for children, for parents and for teachers. The cultural deprivation model on which many compensatory education programs are based attributes educational failure of the child to personal deficiencies caused by his home environment. From this point of view, home visiting is successful only if it changes parent behavior and the home environment in the direction of greater conformity with the school. Other alternatives need consideration, however; one is that teachers who come into sustained contact with culturally different life styles will accept the validity of some of the differences. Increased knowledge of the child and his home may possibly lead to changes in *teacher* behavior and, ultimately, to changes in schools. Teachers can teach parents by making home visits; so, too, can parents teach teachers. Those who gain the most from adults learning from each other may well be the children.

See also:

ACEI. *Parents, Children, Teachers—Communication.* Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1969. 76 pp. $1.75.

CHILDHOOD EDUCATION 44, 7 (March 1968). "Parents as Educators."

By ERNEST O. MELBY

The COMMUNITY-CENTERED SCHOOL

Ernest O. Melby, College of Education, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, Florida, well known for his beliefs regarding the community school, speaks in a stronger-than-ever voice on this topic.

THE CONFRONTATION OF THE AMERICAN school system with the challenge of the inner city has been a revealing experience. It is a vivid mirror in which we can see the weaknesses of our programs. There we can see what a relatively small part the school plays in the life of the middle-class child and how even that part comes about because of good homes and good communities. When homes and communities are disadvantaged, the school also tends to be disadvantaged; but even when it is not, the school program alone appears ineffective. The net outcome is that the middle-class child survives academically in poor as well as good schools, but the disadvantaged child cannot survive without a school different from what we now have. Finally, it should be kept in mind that the weaknesses of the education program injure *all* children but that the injury is critical for the disadvantaged.

Schools Open to Adults, Too

The inner-city child begins school being deprived. He is required to read before he is ready to read. He does poorly, becomes identified as a slow learner, gets poor marks, develops a dark self-image, and with every succeeding grade falls further behind middle-class children in achievement and IQ.

When you work with such children you find that they have learned they cannot learn and that they feel out of place in school, unwanted, often resentful toward a set of values and a society in which they feel rejected. You find that little can be accomplished unless you surround them with a totally different climate for growth and learning. Inner-city children too often suffer from total disadvantage. To help them we must give them total advantage: improve their homes; revitalize the community in which they live;

and change the school they attend, especially the attitude and behavior of their teachers. The teacher must not have more pupils than he can help, taking into consideration the needs of the children. This means a fixed or standard teacher-pupil ratio is indefensible.

But even a child with a creative teacher in splendid facilities may fail unless we educate the parents and help them to improve the community. We must have a community school. *The school must be open at night and in the summer months.* It should never be closed at times when there are people who want to use it for learning. For many parents the best way to learn is to help others to learn and/or to become active in community improvement. Every community has rich resources, people who can help in many ways. Few of them are now mobilized, partly because we do not know about them and even more because we hesitate to involve them. In most cases it is because the school is not open when these people have time to give to teachers.

People, Systems, Readiness

One has always to remember, however, that no educational program is intrinsically effective. The educational program is as "good" or as "bad" as the teachers and all the people who conduct it. The teacher is the key. The teacher succeeds not so much in what he *knows* as in what he *is*. It is his attitude that counts. This is equally true of principals and community-school directors. The leadership—the people—"makes or breaks" the program.

In the inner city we are discovering the power of the individual's self-concept, self-image, self-confidence, feeling of belonging and being wanted. Too often we do the very things that give people a dark self-image and send them home with less faith in themselves. Here our marking system plays a devastating role. It must be abandoned!

Children are not all ready to read at six, yet we act as if they were. This must stop! The child should not be required to do what he is certain to fail at. We should not ask him to do what we know he can't do and then give him a low grade. Here the graded school with its promotion system is injurious to children. They do not grow uniformly in layer-cake fashion at the same rate throughout their lives. From age six to seven they may grow slowly, but from age seven to eight they may progress by leaps and bounds.

In present-day schools it is not enough to learn. You must learn fast and at a certain age. Learning about fractions when you are eleven won't help you—you must learn about them when you are ten. This applies to adults as well. The true teacher draws to himself those who want to learn regardless of age or previous ability or willingness to learn. He cares about what you are and what you are becoming, not what you were. He sees you as you may become.

Education-Centered Community

The education-centered community respects all its people, young and old. It assumes that all can learn and, if appropriate opportunity is presented, all will want to learn. The education-centered community believes that people learn from each other and are educated not by schools alone but by the total life they are leading. It is just not true that some are educated and others are not. All are being educated. But what kind of education are they receiving? Are they learning they can learn or are they convincing themselves they cannot learn? Are they finding it exciting, even fun, to learn? Or is it all a bore or even frightening? Do the children and young people confront the same values and behavior patterns in home, school and community? Or do they face conflicting values and patterns? Is the child respected in home, school and community? Do people have faith in him? Are adults willing to learn with him? Do people care about him? Or is he met with indifference, hostility or rejection?

When these questions are faced the community school, the education-centered community (however we may express the concept of total education), looms as the only adequate education for our society in our time.

Successful Community-Oriented Programs

When we plead for a community-oriented school, we are not without working programs. Flint, Michigan,* has operated a community school program for a quarter century. Miami, Florida; New Haven, Connecticut; Atlanta, Georgia; and many others have successful and rapidly developing programs. As one studies such programs in operation, one develops new faith in the capacity of people to grow and new levels for the potential power of education.

Never before has so much been expected of schools. They are widely assumed to have answers to every problem. But schools alone cannot deliver what people expect of them if they close at 3:30 P.M. and limit themselves to work with the children. Schools now have an unprecedented challenge. People are ready for action. Schools can meet this challenge only as they educate all the people, young and old, and thus create a community which is an educational enterprise in all its life and function.

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* See "After School Program" by Marion Stebbins, CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, May 1963, pp. 430-34, which describes the Mott Program at Flint, Michigan. This after-school program includes all ages of children and their parents.

A Network of Illusions:

Citizen Participation in the Schools

Don Davies

"Pluralism Goes Public: How Lagunitas, California, Did It!"

"School Community Advisory Councils: Los Angeles' Road Toward Citizen Involvement"

"Indian Parents Strive for Community Control: The Story of Three Indian Schools"

"Alternatives in Public Schools: Minneapolis Experiment"

"Citizens Act To Change Schools"

Citizen participation has become a current fad in American education. A vast amount of parent and community involvement is proliferating, probably more than at any other time in the history of public education, with an impressive variety of both individual and collective participation in local school districts.* Among the more prevalent types of citizen groups now working in the schools, the mandated advisory committee predominates. Estimates count some 1,250,000 persons serving on more than 100,000 of this kind of committee.

Despite such an impressive tabulation, one finds a serious discrepancy between the rhetoric of mass participation and the real impact of nonprofessional involvement. Limited transfers of decisionmaking power to some parents and citizens *has* occurred, to be sure; but for the most part the proliferation of advisory committees has left unchanged the long-standing structure of power in the schools.

Professional domination continues. School superintendents exercise enormous influence over school board members. Both groups strongly resist devolving power to parents and citizens. After years of impotence, teachers' organizations have amassed significant strength and, through collective bargaining procedures, have begun to exercise great influence in most areas of educational policy. The gains of teachers in bargaining have had the effect of curtailing access of nonprofessionals to policysetting and decisionmaking, thereby creating a deepening antagonism between steadily advancing teachers and the parents left behind. This tension has undermined the mutual support these parties formerly lent each other in their relations with school officials.

School professionals, both administrators and teachers, are now beginning to accept

Organic alternatives . . . "Much is to be gained by making citizen participation in the schools more than an empty slogan."

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the general principle of citizen participation—but they want manageable, polite, constructive and upbeat involvement. As long as present relations of power remain intact, including the new strong position of organized teachers with school officials, professionals increasingly will accept citizen "input." Some citizens, most often those from the middle class, accept these conditions for participation; however, many others consider them unacceptable. Those dissatisfied with limited terms of involvement, including many poor people living in cities, tend to focus their energy and interests on other issues and drop out of education politics, instead of acquiescing to manipulative and token conditions on their participation in public schools.

The U.S. Congress and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare have embraced the concept of citizen participation by including mandates that require programs created through laws and regulations adopted since the early 1970s to consult with advisory bodies. Some state governments have begun to follow the federal government's lead in these efforts; the most progressive states so far have moved to tie requirements for citizen participation at the school-building level to state school-finance reform, accountability programs, and school-site management.

This expanding web of mandated and government-initiated participatory mechanisms has promised a great deal to the closed-out nonprofessional. But the vehicles clearly have worked less effectively than they should. They contribute to what U.S. Representative Barbara Jordan has termed "a network of illusions." At best, the letter but not the spirit of participation prevails. Since little is being done to make government-initiated advisory mechanisms work, they actually may be helping to increase citizen alienation and frustration instead of decreasing them.

The immediate reasons for the failure of participatory mechanisms to work effectively are too numerous to present in detail here. But in spite of the entrenched barriers, steps *can* be taken by those who believe in enhancing the ability of clients of local educational services to contribute to policy decisions. Sharing professionals' and officials' power with the public still is not an unrealistic objective for citizen advocates.

Photographs by Thomas Sobolik show Boston University students in action at Jackson Mann Community School, Boston, Massachusetts. Tutor Jerry Burke helps children learn after school (pp. 188-89). Arts and crafts instructor Selga Kirsteins lends a hand (p. 191).

TWO ROADS TO ACTION

First, public policies can encourage and support private, voluntary citizen organizations to influence educational policies. Government-mandated activities, weak and ambiguous as they are, tend to pre-empt such citizen-controlled initiatives and to drain the time and energy of persons who have worked with considerably more effectiveness as members of citizen-initiated groups. In the current structure of politics and resource allocation, places exist for both these types of organizations. Voluntary citizen groups can assist the mandated groups in a number of ways, such as:

- ☐ monitoring their work
- ☐ providing information, training and technical assistance
- ☐ helping organize the community to participate.

In turn, the mandated groups can offer the voluntary organizations:

- ☐ access to decision makers and administrators at the school and district level
- ☐ training and experience both for community organization leadership and for local municipal leadership
- ☐ information about school programs and issues.

The two kinds of organizations can thus support or oppose one another in the context [illegible] healthy political exchange.

Despite the possibilities for mutual assistance, the fact remains that organizations created and controlled by citizens themselves are more likely to reflect the diversity of community interests than are mandated organizations. Convincing evidence shows that the former are more aggressive and often more successful in articulating community interests and in placing issues on the local political agenda. They are much more likely too to reflect local social, cultural and political traditions and styles; and, accordingly, they can serve as mediators between individuals and the government in a way that government-mandated groups cannot. The voluntary, independent groups can more easily challenge inept bureaucratic practices. They can use legal recourse when necessary. They can give voice to those persons and groups now typically most excluded from policy influence and decisionmaking—the urban and rural poor, working-class citizens and minorities.

Second, the mandated councils could be nurtured and strengthened in at least five important ways:

1. With specific authority delegated to them, councils should have the opportunity to participate in a partnership capacity in decisionmaking in the areas of local school budget, personnel and program. In order to make this advice practical, school systems must also decentralize decisionmaking to the building level and give principals administrative authority to parallel the council's policymaking authority.

2. For effective functioning, councils must have the resources to strengthen their governance as well as their ability to take action on specific problems. A school system could provide the following support: council staffing, modest council budget, open access to school-related information, a parent resource center, clear procedures for the council to deal with the school in behalf of its constituents' grievances, workshops for skill development and leadership training, and prompt feedback on actions and recommendations taken by the council.

3. Both teachers and principals need access to opportunities to strengthen and refine their skills in working with parents in general and councils in particular. A multi-year staff development effort, including both intensive workshops and regular follow-up sessions, begins to provide the kind of support system needed by teachers and administrators. On a day-to-day basis, principals' roles become enlarged so as to assume effectively the added responsibilities of working in a partnership capacity with the councils.

4. Incentives can provide for coordination rather than fragmentation. To avoid competition and duplication of effort between councils and other parent groups at the same school, councils and groups should be enabled to integrate or coordinate their activities. The language of federal, state and local legislation, guidelines or mandates should specify that coordination, and/or merger, and/or federation of school-site councils and other advisory committees or parent groups is not prohibited and is encouraged. However, the most desirable and feasible ways to provide for coordination and linkages will vary greatly from school to school and district to district, and these should be developed at the school and district level. No single pattern can yet be identified that addresses the need for coordination everywhere.

5. Councils should represent the school's parents, teachers, administration, students (where appropriate), and the larger community. In terms of insuring council credibility, elections seem preferable to selection. Councils must be seen as representing some constituency other than those represented by principals as revealed in their appointments. Great care must be given to representing the communities and the interests served by local schools. Experience has shown that unless substantial outreach efforts are made to involve poor and minority citizens, their representation will be inadequate.

A variety of election/selection schemes should be reviewed before determining the procedures most appropriate for local conditions. In this area, as in most specifics of operation, citizens can be partners in creating the design.

These brief remarks should make it clear that a number of steps can and should be taken by educators, citizens and policymakers to salvage citizen participation from its current status as a trivial, faddish and illusion-breeding concept. Much is to be gained by making citizen participation in the schools more than an empty slogan. The potential of grassroots democracy will be demonstrated once again. And both the quality and political strength of public education will be advanced.

**Note:* This article is based on the work of two concurrent projects of the Institute for Responsive Education. The first is a three-year study of citizen organizations funded by the School Capacity for Problem Solving Groups of the National Institute of Education.

The second is a project on school advisory councils funded by the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. Information about the publications resulting from these other IRE studies can be obtained from the Institute for Responsive Education, 704 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, MA 02215. The author would like to acknowledge the contributions to this article of important ideas from Miriam Clasby, Jim Stanton, Brian Powers and Ross Zerchykov.

The "headlines" cited above are actual chapter headings from one of the Institute's publications, *Schools Where Parents Make a Difference* (reviewed in the January 1978 issue of CHILDHOOD EDUCATION). This anthology of reports on innovative schools around the country vividly documents many forms of constructive citizen involvement in the schools.

Business and Industry As Facilitators of Community Life

Kevin J. Swick

THE MEANING of the term *community* is found in words and phrases such as *togetherness, unity, interdependence, forming a union,* and *linking needs and services*. Ecological studies such as those reviewed by Bronfenbrenner (1979) indicate that the more communities function in synergistic modes the more positively they are perceived by their members—thus creating a cycle of successful individual/group relationships.

Unfortunately, in the present cultural setting, human learning and development are perceived as happening in separate (and isolated) places. While many educators acknowledge that learning and development are contiguous and occur simultaneously in all parts of the community, this premise still lacks complete support of the citizenry. Separation of the learning and development process continues to happen when we assign roles to institutions (such as learning for school or social development for home) and fail to form linkages among schools, businesses and civic agencies.

Children function in a community sense: they are influenced by each component of the environment. For example, a positive family setting, inviting school life, supportive neighborhood, and productive and humane work world go a long way toward creating a cycle of success among children and adults. Communities with inadequate schools, high crime and unemployment, and other social problems provide unlikely settings for children and adults to develop and learn in productive ways.

Research reveals that productive child/family/school relations result when communities place high priority on participatory/supportive living. A recent study by Brown and Swick (1981) indicates that performance of children and adults is positively influenced in neighborhoods where social exchanges, supportiveness, child/child play interactions and concern for others are valued.

While major emphasis has been on family and school environments as primary socialization factors in the child's development, Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) purports that the quality of life in the next generation will be determined in two places outside the home: the neighborhood and the workplace. In Bronfenbrenner's view, parents' workplaces affect their perceptions of life and the way they interact with family members. In this sense parents' job perceptions and family relationships are transactional in nature. Swick and Rotter (1981) state: "The interface between family living and job per-

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formance can be a productive endeavor. By utilizing the good of society as the basis of family life and work life everyone would benefit." The same premise can be applied to the relationship between business and industry and the total community.

Business and industry can play an integral role in shaping a quality environment for children and adults. By supporting recreational, educational, health, safety, family-living, youth-employment and senior-citizen programs, business/industrial groups can influence the present and future in yet untouched or untried ways.

PRACTICES BUSINESS/INDUSTRY CAN USE TO PROMOTE QUALITY COMMUNITIES

Business and industrial firms have successfully used many practices in making life more meaningful for employees, families and schools. In general, people are most productive when they feel secure in their situation; have a purpose for what they are doing and are involved in shaping their own lives as well as the lives of the next generation (Swick and Rotter, 1981). Some of the more promising practices that exemplary business/industrial groups have used are shared here.

Practices Supportive of Families

Business/industry practices supportive of quality family life also serve to enhance school and community life. This is especially true during the formative years of family development. The prevailing attitude in society that places responsibility for child nurturing totally in the hands of parents and then teachers is self-destructive. Parents and teachers need a supportive setting with resources and "helping hands" to meet the challenge of caring for and educating the next generation. Consider the following as some positive business/industry practices that facilitate development of quality families:

□ One of the most promising techniques for enabling family members to meet the dual needs of family and career living involves *flexible scheduling of work hours and places*. First used in Germany in 1956, this practice is now in use in Japan, Europe and to a lesser degree the United States. (Scott Paper and Sun Oil are two U.S. companies that offer flexible scheduling.) Most parents use the options made possible by "flexitime" to meet family needs (Hengstler, 1975). A combination of flexitime with company-sponsored parent and adult education programs can be used to the benefit of everyone in the community.

□ Also benefitting both families and business is the practice of *part-time work on a full-time basis*. The McDonald's restaurant chain, for example, hires people on a full-time basis for a "20-hour" week. Many small business firms utilizing this arrangement find it mutually beneficial to employer/employee relationships. The practice also benefits the family that needs additional income yet desires adequate time for meeting family and personal needs.

□ The birth of a child—the initial formation of family life—is a critical time. *Adequate maternity/paternity leave practices* not only enable parents to begin or expand their families without pressure to return to work immediately after childbirth but stimulate job productivity as well. Moreover, children of parents who have time to form a stable family life tend to be healthier and lead more productive lives. This, in turn, exerts a positive influence on the quality and quantity of industrial output. For an example of a maternity/paternity leave policy, see Swick and Rotter (1981).

Additional family support practices of the business/industrial community might include:

- Utilization of reentry practices for parents who, out of need or desire, decide to seek employment beyond the home.
- Development of a "work hours bank" for parents to use in emergencies or for becoming involved in school or community improvement projects. Parents would bank hours during overtime, later using them to tend to a sick child or become involved in a school activity.
- Organization and implementation of industry-sponsored and/or supported child care.
- Formation of "work transfer" policies that would make it possible for parents to be promoted within their immediate community or, when necessary, assist mobile families in making the move in a positive manner.
- Development of family advisory councils that would provide business and industrial groups with perspective on how their operations affect family life in the community.

Finally, since most people spend a great deal of their waking hours on the job, the workplace should house centers for counseling and health services, parent education programs and related family/community services. Cooperative planning by private and public agencies could bring about a major improvement in the delivery of human services to families and other citizens (Palme, 1972).

Practices Supportive of Schools and Communities

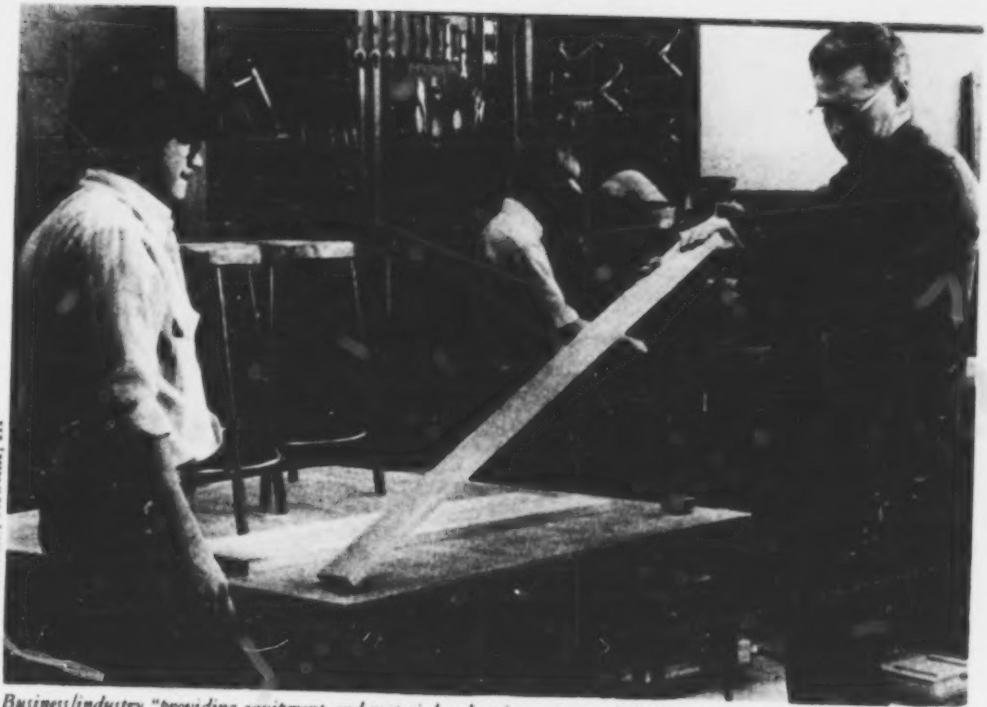
The school, like other community agencies, must have linkages to the various "socialization" facets of the child's environment. The adult world is, in a very real sense, the school of reality for children. Unfortunately, this reality is distorted toward an isolationist, segmented culture in which children and young people find it difficult to forge any meaningful roles (Swick, 1979). Many of our young people are missing out on essential social and emotional facets of healthy development. Coleman (1979, p. 491) states:

> We can identify missing socialization tasks by reflecting on what used to be done by the institutions we have said are vanishing. These tasks include learning to take responsibility for others, learning to work interdependently with others, learning to lead and to follow, learning how to make decisions and take action when necessary, and a host of other things that are ordinarily summed up in the words, "becoming adult."

The school *alone* is unable to accomplish the large task of enabling children and young people to become functional adults. Business/industry can play a major role in making the community an effective educational and social tool for linking generation to generation, thus enhancing adult/child relationships.

Support roles of business/industry might include: fostering school and related educational/recreational/work projects; providing specific schools with materials, financial aid, human resources and professional support (e.g., business-sponsored "adopt a school" programs); serving on school advisory councils, school boards and other decision-making groups that affect schools; offering schools the use of business/industrial settings for job placements and/or field sites for work programs; and supporting community and adult education programs that focus on linking education to community improvement (Burt and Lessinger, 1970).

Business/industrial practices that support worker involvement in the schools may be one of the most effective means of introducing children to the adult world. For example, many businesses could provide parents with leave time for taking part in parent/teacher conferences, visiting their child's classroom as a resource person, helping with special events such as field trips,



—David S. Strickler, Newville, PA

Business/industry "providing equipment and materials related to vocational skills and job needs of the local community . . ."

and handling emergencies that might arise at school. The visible and participating adult signals to the child that school is a place where everyone is involved.

Some business/industrial groups have sponsored child care centers within their workplace, co-sponsored community child care centers, and/or provided parents with the needed resources to have child care available while at work (Angle, 1980). For parents of children in elementary and middle school, some business groups have supported (mostly through cooperative financing) extended school day programs that offer children varied social, recreational and academic activities. This enables parents to complete the work day without worrying about their children's after-school situation (Keniston, 1978). Bronfenbrenner (1979) says *family support programs and school assistance projects* produce a viable system in which all community members can learn and contribute in humane ways.

Additional support modes have been identified as ways business and industry can bridge the school/community gap. Burt and Lessinger (1970) provide three categories of support activities:

Administrative and Operations Support

- ☐ Membership on school boards
- ☐ Membership on administrative advisory committees
- ☐ Fund-raising on special school projects and assistance in passing bond issues
- ☐ Assisting school districts in budgeting and accounting operations
- ☐ Providing schools with help in working out transportation problems and in developing safety/fire protection plans

Teacher Improvement Support

- ☐ Sponsoring professional improvement programs such as conferences, workshops and graduate study

- ☐ Providing research and work experiences for teachers through business related centers
- ☐ Sponsoring special travel programs where teachers can visit sites related to their teaching expertise
- ☐ Developing economic education programs

Instructional Services Support

- ☐ Offering use of industrial facilities for student field trips
- ☐ Sponsoring student clubs and work experience programs
- ☐ Helping in vocational training, counseling and guidance programs
- ☐ Co-sponsoring (with schools and community agencies) work-study programs and student field-research projects

In addition, business/industry can collaborate with schools in many direct volunteer activities. The use of manpower from the corporate community can enhance the total operations of many schools. For example, specialists from a computer technology company could be placed on loan to a middle school to teach a unit or interest course on basic computer language. Agricultural and dairy businesses could (and some do) provide early childhood educators with resource people and materials in the area of food production and processing.

Other types of volunteer involvement include: conducting workshops on job-seeking skills for students; assisting in curriculum revision such as redesigning a high school drafting course; providing equipment and materials related to vocational skills and job needs of the local community, such as the "school-job match" developed under the South Carolina Technical Education Plan; sharing of employee time in conducting school/business-sponsored tutoring programs; taking part in school assessment projects; and sponsoring school appreciation days (Burt and Lessinger, 1970).

As business, industry, schools and families develop linkages between childhood and adulthood, a more cohesive, meaningful and productive society results. Commenting on the need for this kind of cooperation within every community, Havighurst (1977, p. 405) states:

> In brief, we need to inject into the experience of youth a generous service-and-work-oriented program that will enable young people to experience adult society first-hand even though some of them may have to wait until their early twenties to find a proper place in the work force.

Some examples of cooperative business/school efforts are described below:

Philadelphia's Edison Project Dropout Prevention Center

At Edison High School in Philadelphia, a dropout prevention program has been established through the use of school and local business resources. The focus is on career education. Half of each school day is devoted to helping students improve their basic skills, with instruction individualized through the use of teacher-developed curriculum packets. The rest of the day is spent in some facet of career education. Three components of the "career orientation" are a work-stipend program (includes up to ten hours of work a week); work exploration in-school; community-based experiences that introduce students to the working world through lessons on available careers and application procedures, and visits to job sites (Staples, 1977).

Cooperative Science Education Project

Providing a cooperative career orientation to the medical profession, the CSEP program is operated by the New York University School of Medicine and the New York City Board of Education. The main thrust of the program, designed to motivate disadvantaged minority youth toward academic and career achievement, is described:

> Four days a week a different class of approximately 30 eighth- and ninth-graders travels from Joan of Arc Junior High School to the Medical Center. The students divide into two groups upon arriving; half go to work with their preceptors (professionals and paraprofessionals who act as supervisors and role models); the other half go to a fifth-floor laboratory where, with their science teacher, they have the opportunity to investigate and solve scientific problems in a professional environment. After lunch there is an hour lecture period. Following this, students reverse the morn-

ing preceptorship and lab sessions until it is time to return to school (Schine and Harrington, 1982, pp. 25-26).

Emeryville Junior Docents Program

Since 1971 the University of California's Botanical Gardens and Lawrence Hall of Science have been centers of learning for third- to eighth-graders in Emeryville, California. At the Botanical Gardens students learn about many aspects of botanical and environmental studies; at the Hall of Science they focus their efforts on the arts and sciences. While some students construct simple motors, others work on more advanced topics such as entomology. Upon completing a semester of once-a-week study with professional employees on the job site, students select an area of interest and begin to conduct tours for visiting elementary school groups. The program enables young people to learn about the world of work and about themselves (Schine and Harrington, 1982, pp. 26-27).

Project Math Company

In Wiscasset (Maine) Middle School, students learn about mathematics through exploring the world of careers. These students have developed a new kind of math textbook for their peers. A summary of this school/community project is described:

> The project had two goals: to expand students' awareness of career opportunities and to highlight the relevance and importance of math in those careers studied. Forty-five eighth-graders participated in the project on a voluntary basis. They selected and researched careers of interest, interviewed professionals in the community, transcribed and summarized the interviews, and worked with the professionals they interviewed to develop work problems typical of each career. They also made decisions about layout of the book, met with printers, proofread the book, and held a press conference (Schine and Harrington, 1982, p. 27).

The previous examples illustrate that business/school partnerships and other school/community programs can provide children and youth with a sensible transition from school to work.

TOMORROW'S WORKERS ARE TODAY'S CHILDREN

Our economic future depends not only upon the productivity of those now in the work force but the habits, perceptions and behaviors of today's children and youth. Throughout civilization a united and basically harmonious family/community life has been the cornerstone of social and economic well-being (Palme, 1972). When the following questions are examined, they provide some insight into the critical nature of family/school/community relationships—especially as these forces influence children's vision of the future.

1. How much quality time do parents, teachers and citizens (such as business/industrial leaders) spend together?
2. What arrangements exist for the "quality care" of children and youth in the community? What programs and family/school practices exist as a result of business/community agency initiatives?
3. In what way has business/industry altered scheduling patterns to enable parents to deal with unique family situations such as illness or school-involvement activities?
4. Is there a mutually productive relationship among families, schools and business/industry? That is, do business practices support family integrity and school/community partnerships?
5. Are children involved in the work- and family-life aspects of their parents' lives? In what way do schools and the business community involve children and youth in learning about their roles in making family life and work life meaningful experiences?

Answers to these questions are not very pleasing to those who work with families and schools on a continuing basis. In too many cases parents and children are spending less and less quality time in family, school or community endeavors. The need and potential for developing more family/school/industry relationships is apparent in the social context of today's youth. Let us never forget that in all successful cultures, children and youth learn most of their skills in family/school/community arrangements where intergenerational lifestyles are practiced.

FAMILY-SCHOOL-BUSINESS BRIDGES

Fundamental to the success of the practices described here is a major attitudinal change among people toward relationships among family, school and the world of work. The substance of this change is described by Swick and Rotter (1981, p. 11).

> What good will it do our society to have a large Gross National Product if future generations have no identity, little human vision to carry on the gains made and even less vision of their role in the continuous process of humanizing the world? Likewise, the quality gains made in the lives of children will have little meaning if, as adults, they confront a deteriorating economic system.

The following attitudinal and perceptual changes are needed if families, schools and business are to re-establish a viable relationship.

1. Parents, educators and citizens must begin to perceive business/industrial settings as more than "places of work" and "places to consume." They must begin to see them as integral parts of the quality of life.
2. Business/industrial leaders need to see their roles in the community as more than simply economic. A more comprehensive view of how business affects the lives of families and schools is needed, as well as a view of the laborer that includes his/her personal and familial context.
3. The concept that profits alone are the determining factor in defining the success of a business venture must be modified. While profits are essential to any business enterprise, the qualitative relationship between business and community needs to be incorporated into the success concepts of business practices.

Children and young people need to understand the interdependence of work life and family life. They need to become a significant part of industrial living and members of positive families, schools and communities. Only through a concerted effort by parents, educators and business leaders can we produce a future work force of contributing and effective people (Wirth, 1982).

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The American Playground Movement

Joe L. Frost

A PLAYGROUND MOVEMENT is brewing throughout the United States. From a small beginning on the West Coast and in a few scattered cities during the past several years, new, exciting playscapes are now springing up in communities, large and small, across the nation. The movement is long overdue, for the traditional American playground of concrete and steel contrasts sharply with the natural, adventure playscapes of certain other countries. True to American tradition of diversity, the new playscapes have no common source of inspiration or theory and no singular style or design. They spring from the creative thought of professional architects, designers, educators and psychologists; and they frequently engage the energy of parents, teachers and children.

Although the reasons for the American playground movement are multiple and complex, four factors appear to be central: (1) backlash of the cognitive emphasis in early childhood education, (2) influence of European play environments, (3) increasing awareness of deficiencies in traditional American playgrounds and (4) accumulation of experience with new types of playgrounds. In addition, research on play is contributing to the new look.

1

Backlash

Early research in experimental programs for young children during the mid-1960s left the illusion of supremacy for cognitive-academic programs in promoting intellectual development and academic growth. This reflection was to be shattered by later analyses (Bronfenbrenner 1974; Frost and Kissinger 1976) which opened serious questions about the effects of narrowly conceived approaches on more dynamic, less readily measured dimensions of development, particularly social, conative and affective. In addition, the intuition and experience of many professionals led them to distrust easy solutions or packaged programs and to turn their attention back to the "whole child." Not that cognitive development was set aside for other concerns—rather cognition was viewed as an integrative element in total development. Similarly, the preoccupation with academics was gradually tempered with the understanding that fundamental processes mediate development and allow—indeed promote—cognition and later or concurrent academic growth.

Organic alternatives . . . research on children's play is leading to provision of facilitating environments that afford "a viable alternative for TV and boredom, and a major vehicle for learning."

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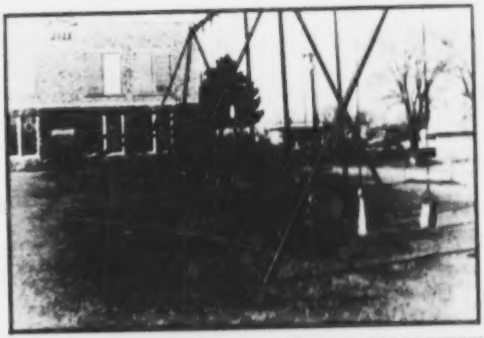

Chief among these processes is *play* (Bijou 1976; Dattner 1969; Ellis 1973; Feitelson and Ross 1973; Frank 1968; Herron and Sutton-Smith 1971; Omwake 1963; Piaget 1962). Fundamental to its expression is the existence of a facilitating environment or playscape (Frost and Campbell 1977; Gramza 1972; Henniger 1977; Johnson 1935; Rubin 1975; Seagoe 1971; Smilanski 1968). Currently, even in the face of the ill-conceived, undefined, unorganized "back to basics" squabble, more and more adults who work with young children are realizing this need and lending their energies to the playground movement.

European Play Environments

During recent years, American educators traveling abroad have reported with increasing fervor about play environments so radical in nature as to defy precise description. Labeled "eyesores" and "junkyards" by some and enthusiastically praised by others, the adventure playgrounds* of several countries, notably England, Sweden and Denmark, have one and perhaps only one factor in common—children of all ages love to play there. Beyond this common feature, the designs are as diverse as the children who make them, for many adventure playscapes are indeed child designs.

Adults play a role. They fence off a vacant lot, provide a storage house stocked with tools and haul in loads of scrap material and hire a play leader (see Lambert 1974). Afterward, children are essentially free to build houses and climbing structures; dig in the earth; care for gardens and animals; or simply play with basic materials, sand, water and dirt.

The adventure playground was the brainchild of a Danish architect and professor, D. Th. Sørenson (Bengtsson 1972:12). He proposed his idea in the 1930s and the practical revolution began in 1943, in Emdrup, near Copenhagen. Sørenson and the Workers' Cooperative Housing Association provided bricks, boards, posts and tools for construction for children ages four to seventeen. The children working together in mixed age groups constructed caves, buildings, chairs, tables and other functional pieces. As huts and equipment outlived their usefulness, they were demolished and rebuilt.

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* The Swedes prefer the term "building playgrounds," and the Danes prefer "play environments."

The adventure-playground idea has since been implemented in Great Britain, Switzerland, Denmark, Japan and to some small extent in the United States. In some European countries, the people of the neighborhoods devastated in World War II began to work with children to develop new, imaginative play environments. One common pattern in Great Britain has been the provision of a playhut, a lavatory, heating and cooling facilities with two full-time play leaders to help children plan and do the things they attempt to do. The site is fenced and covered by comprehensive insurance.

In Denmark certain areas are defined in the playground. A main building serves for the supervisor, for storing tools to be checked out, and for first aid and lavatory. The playground is divided into the following: a storage area for building materials, a cave-digging and construction area, a communal area for adults and children to meet, a pet stable, asphalt for skating and cycling, a stage for plays, a bonfire site for cooking and warming, a fixed equipment area for climbing equipment and for sand and water, a garden, and a nature area left wild.

Common needs are evident across countries: (1) assuring an adequate supply of building materials such as lumber, crates, tools and nails; (2) providing supervisors or play leaders with the skills needed to help children with their construction problems and who are warm, friendly, open and supportive (in the United States it is difficult to convince communities that children need play leaders for public play areas); (3) securing support and cooperation of adults who initially view adventure playgrounds as eyesores or junkyards and who believe that play activities breed aggression and destructiveness in children.

The adventure playground is a remarkable experiment in providing for children's imaginative play using natural and scrap materials. It stands in stark contrast to the expensive, manufactured, hazardous, exercise-oriented playground of America.

Deficiencies of Traditional American Playgrounds

Traditionally, the American playground is an arena of concrete and steel, comprised typically of a jungle gym, merry-go-round, slide, seesaw and swings, all designed and used primarily for one form of play—exercise. Additional natural forms of play—construction and make-believe or dramatics—are generally ignored. Frequently no equipment is provided to accommodate these forms of play and no sentiment for their expression. In sum, traditional playgrounds are developmentally inappropriate for the children who use them (see Vernon 1976). Among the most prominent sites—public schools, private schools, day care centers and community parks—public schools are in a state of greatest need. This problem is largely due to tradition in design and purpose, a common set of equipment geared to developing motor skills in a middle elementary age group, now complicated by ever-increasing enrollment of fives, fours and even infants in public school contexts.

Traditional American playgrounds are unduly hazardous. A report by the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission (1975) is only one of several now available to support this contention (see also Bureau of Product Safety 1972; McConnell et al. 1973; National Recreation and Park Association 1975; for Canada see Wilkinson and Lockhart 1976). The National Electronic Injury Surveillance System records about 800,000 injuries per year requiring emergency room or more extensive treatment. These reports are horror stories of strangulations, hangings, entrapments, fractures, hematomas, concussions and amputations. Examples:

> A seven-year-old girl was killed when she fell from a swing set onto concrete, fracturing her skull.
>
> A two-year-old and a four-year-old girl strangled in separate accidents when their ponchos caught on a projecting member of a slide.
>
> Eight children of varying ages were hanged by swing ropes on chains.
>
> A finger of a nine-year-old girl was amputated by an exposed moving part of a merry-go-round.

And the list goes on and on. A major cause of serious injuries and deaths is falling onto hardpacked earth, asphalt or concrete—a problem that can be remedied simply by providing 8-10 inches of sand under all climbing and moving equipment. A second contributing factor is equipment that is poorly manufactured, installed and maintained. No mandatory standards presently influence the manufacture of play equipment in America. A preliminary set *has* been developed by the National Parks and Recreation Association under contract with the National Consumer Safety Commission, and a few manufacturers have placed themselves under voluntary standards. But tens of thousands of American playgrounds remain in use with antiquated equipment installed on hard surfaces, and many manufacturers continue to make and sell equipment of slipshod design and hazardous features (e.g., exposed bolts, moving elements too close together, lack of protective railings, heavy swingseats up to thirty or forty pounds, entrapment angles, flimsy chains, weak connecting points, protruding elements, sharp and jagged points).

Finally, it should be noted that elimination of undue hazards from play is a responsibility not only of those who design, build and install equipment but of teachers and other adults who work with children. One group is primarily responsible for making play equipment safe for children, the other for making children safe for playgrounds. Insecure, poorly coordinated children are unsafe for any playground. They *learn* to be safe by having many opportunities to express themselves in a rich, varied play environment of graduated challenge; by testing themselves over and over again—motorically, cognitively and socially.

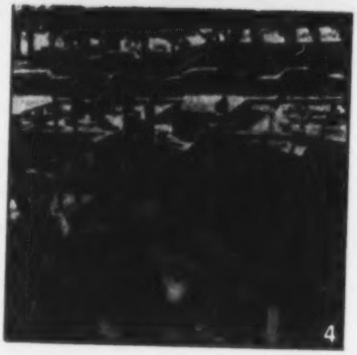
New Types of Playgrounds

Energy to revitalize American playgrounds is coming from many people, representing a wide range of professions and interests. Among the architects are Paul Friedberg and his inner city play parks (Friedberg 1970); Richard Dattner and his ingenious New York City creations including an "ancient play garden" outside the Egyptian Temple at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Dattner 1969); Naud Burnett of Dallas and Ron Hartley of Jackson, Mississippi (Joyner 1976), and their appealing designs for city parks.

Among those involved in helping schools and communities develop their own creative or adventure playgrounds are Jay Beckwith, a San Francisco designer (Hewes and Beckwith 1974) who had personally designed and supervised the construction of many California playgrounds. Over a period of years the staff of Pacific Oaks College (Ellison 1974) created one of America's finest playgrounds through ingenuity and inexpensive materials. Paul Hogan, president of the Playground Clearing House in Phoenixville, Pennsylvania (Hogan 1974), promotes the concept of building playgrounds *with* people

TYPES OF PLAYGROUNDS

1. Designer's playground (photograph courtesy of Cascade Timber Company)
2. Traditional playground, Austin, Texas (photographs 2, 3, 5 courtesy of Joe L. Frost)
3. Adventure or "building" playground, Copenhagen, Denmark
4. Designer's playground in New York City (photograph courtesy of M. Paul Friedberg)
5. Creative playground, Austin, Texas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and has done so successfully in well over 100 Pennsylvania communities. Among the professors, Herb Wong, University of California, Berkeley, develops environmental yards for children and integrates indoor/outdoor learning strategies. Jack Mahan of Palomar College (Mahan 1976), Joe Frost of the University of Texas at Austin, and Barry Klein (Frost and Klein 1978) of Georgia State University assist schools, parents and community groups in designing and building playgrounds using scrounged materials. Gerry Fergeson of Pacific Oaks College and Reba Southwell of the Mississippi College for Women are among the few people involved in creating infant and toddler play yards.

The creations of these people differ from site to site (no two are alike), depending upon such factors as audience, availability of materials and human resources, site, finances and community restrictions. Three fairly distinct types are most prominent: the designer's playground, the adventure playground and the creative playground. The traditional playground is described along with these for comparison purposes.

The Traditional Playground. A formal playground consisting of commercial equipment constructed from metal and fixed in concrete. Typical equipment includes jungle gym, merry-go-round, seesaw, swing and slide, all designed for gross-motor play and limited involvement. (Some manufacturers are now producing high quality wood products for integration into imaginative playscapes.)

The Designer's Playground. A formal playground created by a professional architect or designer, usually of high esthetic quality, with variable function equipment and linked play zones. The equipment is frequently a mix of expensive commercial wood sculpture, metal apparatus and an assortment of timbers (e.g., railroad ties); natural stone and concrete are used for terraces and climbing.

The Adventure Playground. A highly informal playground utilizing a fenced area, storage facility with tools, a wide range of scrap building materials and one or more play leaders. Children are free to express themselves, with assistance as needed, in a wide range of creative forms of play. Tools and building materials are frequently supplemented with opportunities for cooking, gardening and caring for animals.

The Creative Playground. A semiformal playground constructed creatively from existing commercial equipment, purchased or gift equipment and an infinite range of scrounged materials (e.g., tires, lumber, telephone poles, railroad ties, cable spools, scrap pipe). Frequently planned and constructed by parents, teachers and children utilizing the help of a playground specialist, it includes permanent equipment, sand and water, and an array of loose parts to accommodate all forms of play. Areas for special activities such as art, gardening and caring for animals are frequently included.

A few general questions help to compare the merits of different types of playgrounds:

☐ Is the equipment durable and relatively safe?
☐ Is it properly installed and maintained?
☐ Is it of appropriate size for the age group? (For an item-by-item analysis see National Recreation and Park Association 1976.)
☐ Does the playground provide for work/play activities such as art, gardening and science projects?
☐ Are a variety of loose parts available, for sand and water play, wheeled vehicle play, dramatic play, building?

5

☐ Is the playground designed to involve large groups of children simultaneously?
☐ Is the playground esthetically pleasing?
☐ Is it economically feasible?

Among these four types, the "traditional playground" is rated unacceptable from both developmental and safety perspectives. Many designers' playgrounds are constructed from sound esthetic and safety assumptions, but frequently have functional restrictions—due primarily to absence of movable materials such as sand and water play equipment, wheeled vehicles, tools and materials for construction, and dramatic play materials. Designers' playgrounds are located primarily in public areas such as city parks, cost $50,000 to $250,000, and are limited to fixed equipment to prevent vandalism and theft. Most do not have play leaders or special areas for gardening, animals, etc., and practically none have proper storage facilities. With remediation of such shortcomings, these play environments could be developed into outstanding play centers.

For every criterion except esthetics (in the adult sense), the adventure and creative playgrounds must be given high marks. They are inexpensive, can accommodate large numbers of children simultaneously, are relatively safe (given normal maintenance and supervision), and most important accommodate every major form of play. The "eyesore" problem of adventure playgrounds is perhaps a major reason for their limited acceptance. The creative playground is a compromise between the formal, commercial setting and the "junk" environment. But both the adventure and the creative playground can be constructed by people of all ages working together, and herein is powerful strength.

The Future

Adults are beginning to realize that children, who after all are the consumers of play equipment, can make choices when given alternatives and that they can give creditable help in designing, building and maintaining their own playgrounds. The involvement of children, parents and community groups will increase as more and more successful projects reveal the advantages in reduced vandalism, community pride and functional products. Although the improved commercial equipment will continue to be used, the problem of ever-rising prices will force many groups to "scrounge" for surplus and discarded materials and to organize themselves for work days. It is highly important that such groups secure experienced help and search the literature on playground construction, for many bad playgrounds have resulted from good intentions.

As the playground movement grows, school designers will give greater attention to the preservation of the natural landscape immediately surrounding schools as the first, essential step in creating high-quality integrated indoor-outdoor learning environments. School boards and administrators will increasingly seek funds and professional assistance in designing the total play-recreational-sports environment for all age groups. The citizens of more and more communities in the near future will realize that playgrounds are a viable alternative for TV and boredom and a *major vehicle for learning*. They will construct exciting, functional play environments and seek facilitative play leaders as they grow to understand that the cost in human effort and material resources is a wise investment in children.

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Organizations

American Adventure Play Association. P.O. Box 5430, Huntington Beach, CA 92646 (Bill Vance, President)

Danish Playground Society. Virkefeltet 2,2700, Brønshøj Copenhagen, Denmark (Helga Pedersen, Director)

Handicapped Adventure Playground Association. 3, Oakley Gardens, London, SW3 5HQ, England (Mrs. D.R. Bearman, General Secretary)

International Playground Association. Treasurer: Miss M.E. Otter, 12 Cherry Tree Dr., Sheffield S11 9AE, England (American correspondent, Paul Hogan)

London Adventure Playground Association. 25 Ovington Sq., London SW3 1LQ, ENGLAND

Playground Clearing House, Inc., 26 Buckwalter Rd., Phoenixville, PA 19460 (Paul Hogan, President and American correspondent for the International Playground Association)

Swedish Council for Children's Play. Socialstyrelsen S-106 30, Stockholm, Sweden (Eva Insulander, Head of Office)

To Soar with the Eagles

Enculturation and Acculturation of Indian Children

Lee Little Soldier

Education is an institution within society and thus an instrument of that society, with the schools reflecting prevailing values and attitudes. In a culture characterized as materialistic, competitive, individualistic and dynamic, American schools reward behaviors that are compatible with these values and that help the child attain success in society.

The family is another of society's institutions. American families reflect the same values, attitudes, habits and behaviors that are sanctioned in the greater society. It is through reinforcement of the culture in all of its institutions that society becomes a cohesive network of people.

Called *enculturation*, it is the process by which individuals learn their home culture. For many families this is the majority culture. The first major interface of the child with an institution of society other than the home and family often occurs upon entrance into school. While the transition from home to school may have a few ups and downs, usually it is rather smooth because many of the attributes of the home are reflected in the school. Often the same language is spoken in both contexts and similar behaviors rewarded or punished. When home and school continue the enculturation process as compatible partners, the child is secure in knowing how to act and what to expect. Unfortunately, this is not the case for a growing number of youngsters. Certainly it is not true for Indian children from a culturally traditional background.

American society is multicultural. The implications of this fact may be overlooked, however, by the very persons whose professional lives are most affected by it—teachers of young "culturally diverse" pupils. Many Native American children might be described as "culturally diverse": they are from homes that do not reflect the characteristics of the general American culture. Rather, these families have cultures that have withstood the test of time and promote a world view that may run counter to that of the dominant society.

It becomes necessary for such culturally diverse persons to acquire the behaviors of another cultural group in order to gain access to and function within that group, a process called *acculturation*. They must acquire a different set of behaviors in order to survive in the world outside of the home and family. Often this is the world of work.

Instead of a relatively smooth transition from home to school, the initial interface of the traditionally reared Indian child and the educational institution may be a rocky one, indeed. Schooling for a Native American child from a traditional home is an *ac*culturation process rather than a continuation of the *en*culturation process begun in the home. In addition, many of the traditional values, attitudes and behaviors of Native Americans conflict with those of the dominant society. Thus, it is understandable that many young Indian pupils are "turned off" by school very soon and fail to meet school expections.

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Before examining the enculturation/acculturation process for Native American students in greater depth, a cautionary note must be added. Not all Native American families hold to the older ways which have been passed down from generation to generation, enabling many tribes to retain their distinct cultures despite the onslaught of the dominant society. No data are available, however, concerning the numbers of "traditional" Indians as opposed to those who might be labeled "progressive" or "modern." Obviously this is not a clear dichotomy with which to begin. Moreover, because cultures change it is very easy to get caught up in arguments as to what is "traditional" in the present sense.

The acculturation of Native Americans realistically should be looked upon as a continuum ranging from "traditional orientation" to "assimilated," with a span in the middle subsuming individuals who are "acculturated." At either end of the continuum there are persons who tend to be "monocultural." Those in the acculturated span are functionally "bicultural" and comfortable in both worlds. While this ideal is difficult to attain, it provides an individual with the greatest range of choices.

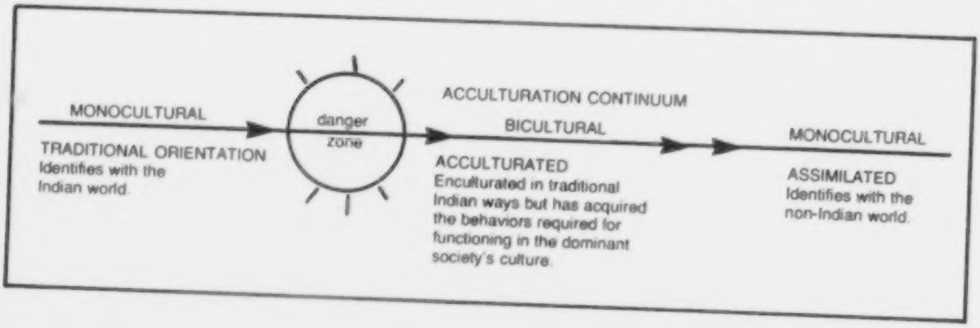
If it were possible to make an accurate assessment of the total Native American population, families and individuals likely would be placed at all points on the continuum. One should avoid making judgments about children and their parents on the basis of physical characteristics, language or other factors that indicate Indian heritage. School personnel need to become acquainted with individual families of students in order to make accurate assessments of the psychological posture of these children.

An array of possible factors encourage "biculturalism." One of them is simply the proximity of the family to the reservation. Native American families living on or near their home reservations are more likely to hold to the older values and traditions and participate in the culturally related activities of the reservation including pow-wows, feast days and rodeos. The focus of life may tend to be related more to the Indian world than the non-Indian world. The length of the time the family has resided off the reservation can make a difference, also.

Additionally, levels of educational attainment should be considered. In the past, many Native American students were placed in boarding schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), isolating them from their culture. Often pupils were forbidden to speak their Indian language or to participate in their culture in any other way. This was tantamount to cultural genocide. Although assimilation was the thrust, it wasn't successful. Unfortunately, great numbers of these students were "turned off" by school, failed to achieve, dropped out as soon as possible and went back home ill-equipped to survive economically.

Presently, however, the majority of Indian children attend public day schools both on and off reservations. Many participate in federally funded bilingual-bicultural programs that attempt to rescue Indian languages from extinction and promote pride in the heritage of participants.

Schools, nevertheless, promote dominant society values, attitudes and behaviors and prepare children to participate fully in the majority culture. Consequently, the longer students remain in school, the more thor-



oughly they become culturally programmed in the non-Indian world. Acculturation is the focus. Native American university students with whom this writer has worked exhibit by and large a comfortable degree of biculturalism. They are people who have been able to overcome cultural conflicts and to "make it" in both worlds — Indian and non-Indian.

Jobs are a factor in acculturation, also. Indians who work on a daily basis with non-Indians are apt to be affected by the behaviors of their non-Indian co-workers. Because jobs are related to educational attainment, the higher the education level, the more likely the individual will deal with the world of ideas rather than engage in physical labor. A higher order of English communication skills is demanded by such positions. Indian professionals not only have achieved a high level of educational attainment but additionally have a great deal of interfacing with the non-Indian world as they practice their profession.

Intermarriage of Indians and non-Indians promotes acculturation as well. Since approximately half of the Native American population of around 1.5 million resides off reservations, mixed marriages are common.

Clearly, many factors operate to place a Native American family at a particular point on the "Acculturation Continuum." It is a complex issue but an extremely important one. If educators are to work successfully with Indian students, it is vital to understand where they are coming from culturally.

Perhaps the reader has noted the "danger zone" on the "Acculturation Continuum." Unfortunately, some Indians may lose touch with the Indian world, the world of home and family which provides security and nurturing. For an array of reasons, they may become trapped between their birthright and the dominant society, losing touch with the former but not feeling comfortable in the latter. This is the area on the continuum frought with conflicts and resulting in serious identity crises. These individuals need help in reorganizing their lives, re-examining who they are, where they are coming from and especially where they are going. (Teachers of older Native American students need to be alert for behaviors that indicate the student is losing direction and may need guidance in reducing role conflicts).

Home and School: Conflicting Worlds

Returning again to the *en*culturation/*ac*culturation discussion, here are some of the conflicts many Native American pupils face as they enter school.

□ Traditionally, Native Americans exhibit an extended family orientation. The child is considered an important member of the family group; the family provides a psychological support system throughout the individual's life. Within the extended family pattern, cousins are as close as brothers and relatives who would be considered "distant" in the non-Indian world are considered full-fledged family members.

Schools require the child to function as an individual, emphasizing individuality in teaching methods and classroom organization. Teachers who are not used to working with Indian children may be amazed to discover the number of "siblings" a child claims to have. It may seem that everyone is related to everyone else on the reservation. Since the kinship system is strong, it may be fairly close to the truth when distant relatives are considered to be close kin. Events on the reservation such as funerals, weddings, religious observances, pow-wows and feast days may cause a noticeable drop in attendance. Family and tribal matters may take precedence over school attendance.

□ A related issue is the matter of individual property. Teachers of young children often label desks, lockers, books and pencils with the child's name. "This is *your* locker, Johnny." "These are *your* crayons, Mary." To the Indian child who has not internalized the notion of individual ownership, *your* may mean belonging to the group. If Mary can't find her pencil, she borrows Irene's without asking. This is part of the socialization process of the Indian child which promotes the value of sharing. Whatever belongs to the group, the Indian child regards as his or hers, too.

□ Cooperation is another focal value ascribed to the Native American population. Much attention is given in the literature to the "weaknesses" (often cultural differences) of the Indian child entering school. In terms of social development, however, these children may enter school ahead of their non-Indian counterparts. The Indian child is used to sharing and cooperating and thus participates in group activities successfully at a young age.

□ But cooperation can conflict, at times, with the competitiveness the schools promote. Indian children for a variety of reasons are not good competitors in the classroom setting. Because it goes against the "Indian way" to defeat classmates and attempt to show them up, they may not exhibit competitive and assertive behaviors.

One should not generalize, however, about Native Americans and competition, as is frequently done. Indian people have a heritage of competing in games, in war and in the hunt. Indian athletes rank among the finest in the nation. Indeed, rodeo is an important activity in the lives of many Indians and certainly is a highly competitive sport.

□ At home, many Indian children are not rewarded for curiosity and for asking questions: parents may even use legends and fables to discourage curiosity. Children are expected to learn by observation and to be patient. Unknowingly, teachers may wrongly label Indian pupils as "passive," "uncooperative," "unassertive" and perhaps even "lazy." Children who are socialized into opposing behavior patterns simply cannot meet the teacher's expectations early in their school experiences.

□ Another example of conflict can arise when the teacher addresses the young Indian child directly, particularly in a chastising manner, or when the child is "put on the spot" for another reason. The Indian pupil may not meet the teacher's expectation of looking directly at the adult. Rather, the child may have learned at home to drop one's head as a sign of respect and compliance. The teacher may interpret the child's behavior as impolite or even rebellious. This is another cultural clash that could be avoided early if the teacher were aware of the dynamics involved.

□ American society is "dollar oriented." Status generally is based upon such factors as the amount of money you have, the car you drive, the part of town in which you live and where you shop. In the Indian world, status is based more upon who you are (the family name), rather than what you have. Social class differences based on income are minor on the reservation. Thus it may be fruitless to attempt to influence Indian students in terms of economics or long-term future goals. The Indian world is "now" oriented: appeals from the teacher which involve a future orientation may be met with indifference, for the most part. Yet the orientation of the schools is to work toward future goals such as the next grade level, graduation, entering college or vocational school, etc.

□ Many jokes are made about "Indian Time." The pow-wow will begin *not* at 8:00 p.m., as the sign might indicate, but rather when participants are *ready*. This might be an hour or two later than the "announced" time. Indians understand and expect this. Traditional Indians simply don't live their lives by the clock: time is viewed as a continuum with no beginning and no end. As a group, Native Americans tend to "go with the flow," so to speak.

□ Recently, a good deal of attention has been given to hemispheric laterality. Persons who are left-brain-hemisphere-dominant seem to excel in mathematics, logic and verbal skills. Those who are right-brain-hemisphere-dominant appear to be more creative and achieve in the arts. Many who work with Indian students feel that there may be a tendency toward right-hemisphere-dominance.

For the size of the population, Native Americans are extremely well represented in the arts. Whether due to heredity, environment or a combination of the two, their talents have become legend in the areas of painting, sculpting, weaving, basket-making, pottery and silversmithing. In addition, if the right-brain-dominance theory is borne out by research, this might help to explain "Indian time." At any rate, it is an interesting possibility.

□ Many Native American children do not do well in timed-test situations. They find it uncomfortable to meet the time restrictions placed on classroom activities. It may even be difficult for young children to get to school on time. They may not have been enculturated to watch the clock and use it to regulate their lives. Since American society places great value on punctuality, to survive in the society all must accommodate to this value. This is a behavior that some Indian children must *learn* and, consequently, the teacher must *teach*.

Teaching Strategies That Are Enabling

The foregoing discussion points out some of the more obvious problems that can occur when young Native Americans enter school. The remainder of this article will suggest ways in which these conflicts can be reduced or eliminated.

□ For the young Indian child entering school for the first time, the classroom should be comfortably familiar, making use of culturally relevant materials whenever possible. This should be true throughout the grades, but is *particularly* critical in the initial experiences in school. The teacher may need to develop an array of materials that help to bridge the gap between home and school and get children off to a good start.

□ Utilizing teacher aides and parent volunteers from the community is helpful in encouraging children to feel at ease, especially if the teacher does not share a common cultural background with pupils. This is especially important when the community is bilingual and pupils enter school with a language base other than English.

□ Peer-tutoring should be encouraged, too. The ability to share, cooperate and work successfully in groups at an early age is a real strength that Indian children bring to school. Building good group dynamics and stressing *group* rather than *individual* achievement are important. An informal classroom organization that encourages flexible use of time and materials, individualization and group decision-making is more congruent with Indian values.*

□ Expect borrowing to occur among Indian pupils for the reasons discussed earlier. This does not mean that the teacher cannot or should not promote the notion of pride in individual ownership. But, again, it's a matter of starting where children are.

□ Similarly, the teacher must learn to respect and accept absences that are family or tribe-related. If it's a feast day in the Pueblo, school attendance will be low. This would be a good time to review or plan enrichment activities for

Photos courtesy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.

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*For a more complete discussion relating traditional Indian values with open education, see "Open Education and Native American Values," in *Educational Leadership* 32 (Oct. 1974): 41-45, by the present writer and Dale Little Soldier.

pupils who *do* attend. The teacher has to be flexible in allowing pupils to make up work. Good communication between home and school can help to avoid misunderstandings that only serve to affect negatively the attitude and achievement of Indian pupils in school.

□ In the matter of competition, again teachers need to adjust their expections and meet children at their level. Within the classroom, it is better to encourage intergroup competition rather than pitting child against child. In addition, there are many opportunities for competition on the playground in games and athletics.

□ If Indian pupils have learned to observe and do at home, then modeling of appropriate behaviors and skills by the teacher can be helpful. Teachers must help pupils understand the importance of context with respect to the appropriateness of certain behaviors. Indian pupils can learn that they are expected to speak up and ask questions at school; but at home they are expected to listen and observe. These are two different contexts with opposing expectations. Just as children can learn to become bilingual, however, they can become bicultural as well. The key lies in knowing *which* behavior is appropriate for *what* situation.

□ Because of differences in time perspective, it is better for teachers to stress short-term, present-oriented goals. Give Indian pupils time to reflect before requiring an answer. Teach children how and why punctuality *is* important in a highly complex technical society. These are attitudes and habits that will take some Indian children a long time to acquire. Work with parents, too, to help them understand why it is important for their children to get to school at the appropriate hour.

□ Timed-test situations place many Native American pupils at a disadvantage. The teacher should allow some flexibility here, too, except in the case of standardized tests. Young Indian pupils may achieve less well on standardized tests than their non-Indian counterparts. Not only are these tests often culturally biased, but also they demand adherence to strict time schedules. Indian students need to be taught to be better test-takers by teachers who understand the orientation of these pupils and begin slowly and deliberately to build a sense of adherence to time constraints when functioning outside of the Indian world. This is another way in which we can help Indian children become bicultural.

□ If academics are difficult for some Indian pupils, perhaps success can be attained in the arts. This does not mean, however, that the 3Rs should be neglected: all students need to acquire the competencies to function adequately in society. Since the aesthetic-expressive areas are also important, they may enable some Native American students to find success in school and thus serve to lower their alarming dropout rate.

Conclusion

If a Native American child from a traditional home is to succeed in school and participate in mainstream America, the child must acquire new behaviors—some of which may conflict with the enculturation process begun in the home. Acculturation is a slow and painful process; however, the stresses and anxieties that arise as children deal with ambiguities and conflicts can be avoided, or at least greatly reduced, by educators who understand the dynamics involved. Acculturation results in becoming bicultural—not leaving behind the old for the new, but rather functioning effectively in *both* worlds. Those who interact with Native American students in the school setting are challenged to become enabling agents for these children.

It is important for teachers and students alike to avoid cross-cultural behavior judgments. The "correctness" of a behavior can only be evaluated in terms of the particular sociocultural context in which it occurs. Teachers who are most effective in working with Indian students bring empathy to the teaching/learning arena. They have developed not only an understanding of but an appreciation for the rich cultural heritage, history and traditions of the many Native American groups.

Acculturation is a two-way street. Educators who enable Indian students to move along the acculturation continuum cannot help but be affected by these experiences, too. It is surprising how much teachers can grow when they come to the classroom first as a learner, and next as a teacher. Their lives are greatly enriched by learning about other ways human beings have developed to adapt and survive on this planet we call "Earth," not only physically but socially and emotionally.

Educators who are fortunate enough to work with Native Americans have an awesome responsibility. But the rewards are rich in terms of development of human potential. After all, don't we *all* want a chance to soar with the eagles?

Bridging Cultures and Peoples

Wilson Riles

In this stirring plea for human understanding, the author envisions "a bridge of quality education for every child that will link all cultures and peoples."

Wilson Riles is Superintendent of Public Instruction and Director of Education for the State of California.

IT SHOULD COME as no surprise that the Association for Childhood Education International acknowledges the need to "build bridges" of understanding in the process of guiding the development of children. The organization has a long and respected history of clear and uncompromising commitment to the world's children. As someone who supports its goal of fostering human understanding, I am grateful for the opportunity to address the topic "Bridging Cultures and Peoples."

In a very real sense, "building bridges" is what education is all about—building bridges between youth and maturity, building bridges between cultures and peoples. Such a concept of education is to be fostered if we place high value on the need to develop caring children. Indeed, it is crucial to the future of humankind.

Living in One World, Indivisible

If I seem to be overstating the case for understanding, let me remind you that this is, indeed, one world, indivisible. Humankind no longer lives in isolated enclaves, years of travel apart. Astronaut Frank Borman put the matter in perspective when he said, "We're one hunk of ground, water, air and clouds floating in space. From out there it really is one world." What happens in Moscow, Peking or Washington is instantly felt in every nation around the world. A famine, a drought or a freeze anywhere affects people everywhere. A revolution in Iran has repercussions in the United States. An invasion of a neutral country by a superpower sends shudders through every national capital and through the high streets of cities and villages. No person is an island; all people are brothers and sisters, their destinies forever linked. We either give up the luxury of fear, distrust and hatred based upon ignorance or we face the prospect of the human person as an endangered species.

Let me remind you, too, of the words of U Thant in his final report to the United Nations: "Governments, systems, ideologies and institutions come and go, but humanity remains." But even humanity won't remain forever if we don't soon learn to respect each other. If we don't build bridges of understanding between cultures and peoples, we may find too late that we have destroyed a planet and all of its creatures.

Coping with Diversity

We tend to think of the United States as unique among nations in its diversity of peoples—only because we may be ignorant of the problems faced by many nations. Whether we know it or not, nations around the world aspire to bringing diverse cultures together.

In the United States, people have over time moved from one extreme to another in their attempts to cope with diversity. They have gone from a national determination that everybody, regardless of origin, should become identical in language and culture, to a new aspiration that everybody should be different—that diverse cultures should be encouraged to maintain their identities. In their haste to reform old practices, people have emphasized differences. For the most part, the differences they have encouraged are superficial and irrelevant. Foods, languages and dress sometimes become proxies for cultural differences.

In trying to compensate for destroying

This is an adaptation of Dr. Riles' presentation at the April 3rd general session of the 1980 ACEI Study Conference in San Francisco.

natural diversity, people have overlooked their common humanity. Under the folk costumes that say we're different exist common needs to learn, to love, to live fulfilling lives—the needs that are most important to every parent, to every child; the needs that form the common bond that bridges gaps between cultures and peoples. Martin Luther King, Jr., stressed that common bond, that bridge, when he admonished all of us to live together as brothers and sisters or die as fools.

To understand how the United States has moved from one extreme to another, we need to look back over time to the founding of the nation—to the time when *E Pluribus Unum* (out of many, one) was the most important task facing people. Sometimes unintentional cruelty came into play to ensure survival of an untried form of government based on the consent of the governed. With doors wide open to people from all parts of the globe came the need to ensure loyalty to the new nation. Evident was a need to make certain that the melting pot melted old loyalties, old customs, and that the resulting mixture produced one loyalty—to the United States of America.

Immigrants had to clean up and shape up: learn English and forget Italian, Greek, German, Swedish, Chinese, Polish or another native tongue; learn to like cranberry sauce, turkey, beef steak and corn bread and forget olive oil and garlic; get jobs in sweatshops or factories and forget the handicrafts of the old country; break backs and necks building railroads and forget building new homes. Night schools taught citizenship, new language and new values in a pressure cooker of determination to convert raw material into Americans.

The process worked. The flood of immigrants was absorbed. A government based upon an educated, loyal electorate thrived and became great.

Now democracy is no longer the strange idea of a small band of American radicals. Now people are secure. Now they can look back and reckon the price of broken home ties, of broken-hearted parents who saw their children turn into strangers ashamed of old country ways. Now people can tolerate differences. Now they are mature and can see beyond superficial differences and perceive the bridge of common humanity that brings peoples and cultures together. Now they can concentrate on providing equitable educational opportunities for all children so that they may function and live together with respect for each other.

Bridging Cultures and Peoples in California

Let me tell you what we're doing in California to build that bridge of common humanity to link peoples and cultures. We have in this state the world in microcosm: in our schools we're teaching children with 100 different primary languages. We know that the kind of future those youngsters will have depends upon the quality of education we offer them. We know that there is no way we can force them to "shape up or ship out," as educators did a century ago.

We know that differences are superficial and we're determined to focus on the needs all children have in common—the need to grow, mentally and physically; the need to develop to the full extent of their talents; the need to learn to live in harmony with others, recognizing the value of diversity.

We know that this kind of education is a continuous process, not something that you can satisfy with 30 minutes a week of folksongs or adventures in eating food of another land.

We know that those who push integration through busing youngsters to achieve some racial or ethnic balance are missing the entire point of education. We know that the only program which will be effective is quality education. To achieve quality education, the school must focus on the individual needs of children and include their parents as full partners in the educational process.

Allow me to share as briefly as I can some of the highlights of our Early Childhood Education Program—a program designed to meet the needs of each child; a program designed to include, not exclude, parents—rich, poor, minority or majority.

We recognized nearly a decade ago that we were spending far too much time in the later years of a child's schooling remediating early failure. We determined that quality education required school improvement and that improvement had to start where the children started, in the K-3 segment of our schools.

We consulted the foremost authorities in early childhood development, and we designed a program based on their recommendations:

☐ First, each child must be assisted to learn at his/her own pace, with individual needs assessed and met.

☐ Second, the change in the type of education offered must take place at the child's school, with parents, teachers and administrators working together to plan and implement programs designed to bring each child to his/her full potential.

☐ Third, no child should leave the 3rd grade without achieving competence in the basic skills of reading, writing and computing.

☐ Fourth, the full spectrum of community resources and school district resources should be tapped to ensure that each child's total needs were met.

☐ Fifth, funding should depend upon success in achieving program goals rather than upon failure. We were all aware that too many compensatory programs rewarded failure instead of success—continuing funding when youngsters didn't achieve at grade level and cutting off funds when they did.

Our Early Childhood Education Program was a mindful analysis of needs and a mindful response to those needs. And it worked. It worked so well that children are doing better than national norms on tests of basic skills. It worked so well that we have extended the concepts to the entire K-12 system. It worked so well that we can finally say that quality education was the norm in schools participating in ECE and School Improvement Programs, not the exception.

Conclusion

Anything less than quality education is a waste of the most vital resource a nation has—the human mind. Any time we let children fail to develop to their full potential because they are different and don't fit the mold, we defraud ourselves individually and diminish humanity as a whole. Any time we demean members of an ethnic group because they refuse to shape themselves to some arbitrary norm, we destroy the bridge that links people together, not just as a nation, but as humankind sharing a common home, planet earth.

In this era of scarcity, we can't afford to lose even a modest amount of the strength of our human resources. In this era of distrust among nations, we can't risk our ability to fulfill the great potential of humankind by fearing and rejecting those who are of another color or speak another language.

As I traveled abroad visiting Europe, Africa and Asia, I saw children with the same curiosity, the same eagerness to learn as those I know at home. I saw parents with the same determination to make any sacrifice necessary for their children's welfare as those I meet in San Francisco, or Sacramento, or Los Angeles.

As I come to understand our common humanity, to recognize worldwide our common needs and common goals, I envision a bridge greater in strength and beauty than the Golden Gate Bridge, a bridge of quality education for every child that will link all cultures and peoples—a bridge of understanding that will make this truly one *world*, indivisible, with freedom, justice and fulfillment for all.

An International Perspective

Public Policy: For or Against Children and Families?

Margaret G. Weiser

THE REPORT to the President of the United States (1980) summarizing the International Year of the Child states that the "extent to which families are able to care for their children, as well as provide them with healthy, happy childhoods, is closely related to how successfully society supports the family" (p. 77). Societal support is conveyed through public policy, be it directly stated or indirectly implied.

The issues surrounding a public policy that supports children and families are diverse and complex. Family support systems are interwoven into the total system of life, and all public action and legislation have an impact. Housing, education, health, transportation, taxes, the environment, equality of opportunity, insurance, social services, employment and nutrition, as well as other systems, bear a direct relationship to the extent to which families are able to care for their children. Kamerman and Kahn (1978) state that "family policy means everything that government does to and for the family" (p. 3). It therefore seems more precise to define family policy as an attitude rather than a specific piece of legislation. If families and children are of prime importance to a society, this pervasive attitude should serve as a reference point by which to evaluate existing and proposed legislation and common practice.

Industrialization has provided impetus for arriving at family policies, whether they be directly stated or indirectly implied. Societal concerns for increased productivity (in the more communistic countries) or for equal opportunity for women (in the more democratic countries) have precipitated the current importance accorded family policy per se. When national decision-making is hierarchical, a consistent policy appears with little discontinuity between the home and society at large. In pluralistic societies such as that of the United States, such policies are the result of advocacy groups—frequently increasing the amount of discontinuity between the home and society at large.

No country or political ideology has endorsed a family policy that is utopian, either in their view or that of others. Sweden has a comprehensive and explicit family policy contained in many pieces of legislation, toward which we might look with envy. However, taxes in Sweden range from 50 to 80 percent of income and the Swedes are turning into a country of tax-evaders. The People's Republic of China provides com-

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prehensive systems of health, child care, and education both in and out of the schools. However, the sense of family appears to play a lessening role in the lives of young people, whose emotional investment has been transferred to society as a whole. Work-enforced separations of adult family members are not uncommon; and child care has become the responsibility of grandparents, other retired persons, or state-supported centers when the parents are not geographically available.

It is more difficult to find flaws in the policies of the Soviet-dominated countries or satellites, primarily because it is more difficult to get any information other than the Party line. However, the recurring strikes, the long bread lines, and the resulting threats of violence and suppression in Poland all indicate that life is neither easy nor pleasant for families and children, in spite of almost universal child and health care, maternity leaves, and close to full employment of both sexes.

A visitor to the United States might view the 268-plus federal programs (as of 1980) that have direct or potential impact on families and their children as proof that the country has a comprehensive family policy. But does such a large number of programs ensure the optimal development of children and families? And will they continue? Unlike most other industrialized countries, the United States seems to respond to specific crisis problems with specific legislation. There is no apparent overall design or coherence among the separate programs. Indeed, some of them work against families, in spite of their good intentions.

One of the most relevant public policy issues relates to duration of maternity (or parental) leave in connection with childbirth. The boxed information was supplied by the International Children's Centre (1980).

Duration of maternity leave	Country
6-8 weeks	Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Spain, Finland, Greece, India, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Switzerland, U.S.S.R.
10-12 weeks	France, German Federal Republic, Italy, Norway
20 weeks	Hungary
29 weeks	Great Britain
36 weeks	Sweden (parental leave which can be shared)
?	United States (differs from state to state, and from one employer to the other)

A comparison of public family policy, either as legislation or as a pervasive attitude, is offered with the intention of providing an international perspective to an issue that is becoming more significant and explosive in the United States. The countries of Sweden, Poland, the People's Republic of China, and the United States were chosen because of their different approaches to the same issues and their explicit or implicit public policies on children and families. The interviews reported for each country are expanded versions of conversations or presentations that took place during the writer's visits to these countries. At times words have been put into the mouths of the interviewees; but the factual information is as accurate as possible, given the current upheavals in governments and their policies. The interview of the anonymous young mother in the United States is an almost verbatim response.

The comments about Sweden are more comprehensive than those about Poland and the PRC, because Sweden's social democracy is more closely related to that of the United States. It is therefore easier to make a direct comparison.

SWEDEN

Overview

Swedish national policy stems from the assumption that it is not possible to create a good living environment for children with-

—Early Childhood Education Center, University of Iowa

out creating a good society for all. Because the family is recognized as the primary and responsible force in the upbringing of young children, attempts to support and supplement families are an integral part of public policy.

The new Social Services Act (effective January 1982) is based on the rights of all persons to economic aid and other measures that guarantee a reasonable living standard and the ability to lead an independent life. Such aid is now the right of all persons, both citizens and immigrants. The new act emphasizes services rather than welfare; and the new programs concentrate on preventing and changing conditions that are unfavorable to the people's economic and social well-being, equality in living conditions, and active participation in community life.

Public child care programs include the preschool system (a variety of organized arrangements for children from 6 months to 7 years of age) and after-school recreational activities for children in their early years of compulsory schooling. Both programs are financed by the national government (20-30 percent), the municipality (60-70 percent) and the individual families (15-20 percent).

The accommodation of 6-month-old infants is linked to the former system of a 6-month maternity leave from work in connection with childbirth. Last year (1981) the parental insurance system was introduced. It provides both parents with compensation for a total between them of 9 months' leave from work, with the option to use part of it before childbirth and part of it on later occasions such as when the child first starts compulsory school at age 7. In addition, parental insurance also entitles every parent to take paid leave of absence one day per year for personal contact with public child care programs.

Since 1979 all parents have had the legal right to 6-hour working days (the opportunity continues until the child's 8th birthday) or a full leave of absence until the baby reaches the age of 18 months. During the first 9 months' leave, parents receive compensation equivalent to 90 percent of lost income. No compensation is payable for the additional types of partial leave.

All parents are offered voluntary parental training during paid working hours, including a visit to the hospital maternity ward and meetings before and after childbirth led by professionally trained persons.

In addition to the provision of daily care for children of parents who are gainfully employed or are full-time students, many provisions are made for the physical and mental well-being of children and their families. These include free dental care up to age 16; free sickness and maternity hospitalization; free counselling about contraceptives, abortion and sterilization; free or inexpensive contraceptives; free sterilization; and free abortions up to the 18th week of pregnancy upon request. The intention is not so much to limit the number of births as it is to ensure quality of life for those who are born and for their parents.

Additional aspects of Swedish public policy are evident in the following interview with Ingrid, who works for the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation in Stockholm. She introduced us to a national policy about radio and television broadcasting which was completely foreign to these American ears.

Interview

Question: "In what way do you consider radio and television a part of your family policy?"

Answer: "In Sweden, both radio and television are independent of private interests and state control. No advertising is allowed. Broadcasting is financed by the sale of licenses to the owners of television sets and radios. The government lays down broad guidelines to be followed, but apart from these neither the state nor anyone else outside the Corporation has a right to influence the programs. There are 2 television channels which broadcast about 80 hours a week, mainly in the evenings. The special children's production units account for 12 percent of the total television output (or about 10 hours per week). These programs are broadcast Monday through Friday; and because of the cooperation between the 2 channels, we never have 2 children's programs at the same time.

"The children's programs have the same financial and other resources as programs for adults, and they follow the same national guidelines. Their aim is to address every kind of topic and to treat it realistically. For instance, they try to combat stereotyped views of the sexes and the portrayal of violence as entertainment. They are also trying to provide exciting, amusing and significant drama and fantasy. Some films are brought from abroad, but no particular country has the best children's films. We use 'Sesame Street' (we call it 'Five ants are more than four elephants'), but the children don't watch it as much as in the United States.

"On the weekends we have family programs, with storytelling, cooking experiences and nature programs. We've just finished a 10-program series on making birdhouses. There are also programs for deaf children and immigrant programs for preschool children in Turkish, Greek, Yugoslavian and Finnish. Studies show that one must know all aspects of one's own language before a second language can be really learned.

"Our project for the past few weeks has been the videotaping of projects of the Swedish Council for Children's Play. The Council was established by the government in 1971 to create better housing and living conditions and to improve the playworld of children. One of its most impressive accomplishments is the Rosengard housing area in Malmo, where one fourth of the 16,000 residents are of foreign origin. In one block of 11 uniform skyscrapers, the local government has turned 6 empty flats into community centers, and has engaged a number of housewives at hourly wages to run them. During the mornings they are most occupied by preschool children and some old-age pensioners who are happy to play with them. Older school children come in the afternoon; and parents come in the evening to putter in the workshops, to play chess or table tennis or badminton. Sometimes there are musical or theatre performances or classes. Each of these centers has 'adopted' a nearby farmyard which the children visit at least once a week to help in the stables or with the hay-making.

"We are really proud of the Play Council. It has become a leading advisory body to all who are concerned with children in one way or another. They have sent exhibits of indoor and outdoor environments and of preschool play equipment and toys to France, Italy, Canada, Brazil and the United States. Speaking of toys, did you know it is impossible to buy war toys in Sweden? And we're not even allowed to spank our own children anymore.

"I'm afraid I've wandered from your original question, but perhaps you now understand that all public policy in Sweden is somehow related to family policy. Speaking of family policy, I have just returned from a paid leave. My 2-year-old daughter had pneumonia and could not go to her day nursery. They offered to supply a childminder to stay with her, but I preferred to be at home with her myself."

POLAND

Overview

Poland provides two systems of child care: nurseries or creches for children from 6 weeks to 3 years of age, which are under the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, and kindergartens for children from 3 to 7 years of age, which are under the Ministry of Education. Full-day programs operated by municipalities or by industries and factories are available for working mothers. Regardless of their sponsorship, they are administered and operated at the local level, but all must conform to national policy. They are paid for primarily through taxation and union dues.

All maternal and child benefits are covered by state social service insurance funds. The trade union bodies, women's councils and children's commissions make sure that women and children get all the benefits they are entitled to.

It is rare for a foreigner to obtain a personal interview with anyone other than an official spokesperson, but the following response by a Polish mother of young children was given in response to our question.

Interview

Question: "How do you combine motherhood and working full time?"

Answer: "I live in the 1st of May housing development in Lodz, which is the second largest city in Poland. My husband and I work at the Defenders of the Peace Cotton Mill. I gave birth to my third son, Tadeusz, last year. Before he was born I took 4 weeks paid maternity leave, and afterward I had 14 more weeks with pay. Our government lets mothers take maternity leaves for up to 3 years, but without pay after 18 weeks. Even if I had stayed away from work for the 3 years, I could have had my same job back. But we decided that I should go back to work when Tadeusz was a year old and send him to the nursery school at the mill. We sent all our children to the mill's nursery school and kindergarten. I went back to work when my other 2 were younger, but I was given time off to nurse them.

"It doesn't cost very much to send them, and they are healthy and strong. [Note: the cost to parents is about [illegible] percent of their income, regardless of the number of children.] The nurses and teachers pay a lot of attention to the children's diet and physical training and exercise. And Jerzy, who is in kindergarten—he's 6 years old—is learning to read and write and count. One of the things we like about the nursery and kindergarten is that if my husband and I are on the late shift, the children are fed a good dinner and put to bed until we pick them up on our way home.

"Since most of the people who work at the mill are women, we have our own clinic. We get health checkups, and when we are pregnant we get advice about diet and rest and work. All this is free. We can also get free meals and medicine for our babies until they are 1 year old. If I have a doctor's prescription I can get free medicine for the children at any pharmacy, as well as baby food. Last year Felix (age 4) was very sick, and I was given paid leave so I could stay home with him. I could have taken 2 months' leave, but he was well after 3 weeks, so I went back to work.

"My sister lives in Dabrowa, the largest housing development in Lodz. She sends her children to the nursery on the first floor of her building. My mother lives with her, but she is too old to take care of the twins. She does go down in the afternoon sometimes to tell stories to the children in the nursery.

"My oldest niece goes to school, but many afternoons she goes to the children's palace for music and dance lessons.

"All of us are busy and we work hard, but we are happy with the good care our children get while we are working."

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Overview

First of all, the bureaucratic organization of PRC is changing more rapidly than we can comprehend. Last summer (1981) lines of Chinese and tourists lined up to pay their respects to former Chairman Mao; in November 1981 Mao's name was mentioned only when tourists initiated the conversation, and no opportunity was allowed to even view Mao's Memorial Hall in Tien An Men Square, let alone to go inside. Last summer tourists were led on tours to rural communes and were given statistics on productivity. This fall the communes have been disbanded, and agricultural workers are cultivating their individually owned plots of ground. Last summer, and in all the years since PRC was opened to foreign visitors, tourists were constantly entertained by musical performances of kindergarten and primary children. The programs, all politically oriented, were beautifully executed. This past winter the number of performances has significantly decreased, and foreign educators are being allowed to visit ongoing classrooms. In November 1981 the Chinese government gave up its monopoly on urban employment, granting workers the right to find their own jobs, thus ending the 30-year-old guarantee of a state job. In 1979 "two are beautiful"; in 1981 "one is enough." More than one child per family now results in economic sanctions, including a decrease in the retirement pensions of the parents.

It is risky to venture a guess as to the effects of these sweeping changes on the public policy relating to children and families. It is also somewhat unrealistic to assume that everyday practices of health and maternity care, and of maternity leaves at the time of childbirth, have suddenly been changed or abandoned. With these reservations in mind, the following "interview" is included.

Interview

"I work in the clinic of the family planning department of the Shanghai International Peace Maternity and Child Care Hospital. The state supplies contraceptive drugs and devices free of charge; and operations such as sterilization and abortion are performed in our hospital without any charge for medicines, surgery or examinations. The patients just pay for their meals. They are also given sick leave from their factory or office job at full pay. This morning I examined a woman worker who had recently undergone a sterilization operation after having her first child. She had been coming to the clinic on a regular basis for free contraceptives before this. Each woman who is of childbearing age in our district has a card in our file showing her age, number of childbirths, and contraceptive methods used.

"For about 6 months of each year I join a cadre of medical workers and we visit the countryside. This is exciting work because we stress prevention of health problems. Did you know that we have eradicated mosquitoes, mice, pigeons, cats, dogs and sparrows? Not only has the people's health improved, but some of these pests were eating human food.

"I'm 31 years old, and I have a 5-year-old daughter in kindergarten and a 6-month-old son in the hospital nursery. My husband is an engineer on the Yangtze delta project and doesn't get home very often. We live with my retired parents and my 15-year-old sister in the New Workers Housing Project. We have a 2-room flat on the second floor, and we're very lucky because we have our own bathroom with running water. My dad retired with 80 percent pension when he was 60, but continues to go to the rug factory to teach the new workers the fine art of design. My mother retired from the factory at age 50, also with an 80 percent pension, and they both get free medical care. She now works part-time at the post office, and spends every afternoon greeting the kindergarten and primary children when they come home from school. She and some other retired grandparents plan activities for the children, help them with their homework, and talk about their experiences in the 'years of bitterness.'

"Even though we have 2 rooms, there really isn't enough room for both my daughter and the baby, so my daughter stays at her full-care kindergarten all week. I pick her up Saturday afternoon and return her on Monday morning. She gets free medical care and good food, as well as a good education. I pay about 2 percent of my salary to the kindergarten, which is state-run. I took [illegible] days maternity leave when the baby was born, and am continuing to breast-feed him until he is 1 year old. It is so convenient to have him there in the hospital nursery, in the same building where I work. I will not be sent to the countryside again until he is 1 year old. I don't expect to have any more children."

UNITED STATES

Overview

Perhaps the best indication of future public policy in the United States is inferred by the suggestion of President Reagan, as reported in the *Berkeley Gazette*, October 18, 1981. The president is quoted as saying, "What better solution than the working mothers drop their kids off at the church and there are volunteers to take care of them and there would be no government involved."

Interview

Question: "I know that both you and your husband are dividing your time between part-time employment and part-time student status, and that you have 3 young children. How have you combined your adult activities with child-rearing?"

Answer: "Our first child was born in 1974. At that time we were living in an old house with 4 single men friends who shared expenses. I did the cooking for us all, to discount our portion of the rent. We had no hospitalization or medical insurance, no automobile and very little money. When my labor began, we walked to the hospital. Our daughter was born at dawn, and she and I returned home that evening. We were both in good condition and I preferred getting to know her in our own home. Of course, keeping hospital expenses to a minimum was an important consideration. I prepared dinner for my husband and our 4 boarders that night.

"I returned to work after 2 weeks and took the baby with me. We didn't even consider child care because I wanted her with me. There was no money anyway. I took her to the pediatrician for checkups for the first 3 months; but these visits were costly, and we discontinued them because she seemed fine.

"When the baby was 14 months old, we had to move in with my husband's parents, who were living in a small university town. My husband was unemployed, and he stayed with the baby while I worked as a substitute secretary. Our income was irregular.

"The next fall we both became part-time students and were able to move into student housing. The only child care available was in a family day care home where the caregiver was responsible for 10 (or more) children. She supplied them with liberal doses of junk food snacks and many hours of television. We kept the hours of this child care to a minimum by juggling class and work schedules. We gardened, ate wild vegetables, and bought other food in bulk from the local co-op.

"Our first son was born when our daughter was 3 years old. Fortunately, I was able to have low-cost prenatal care through the Student Health Service. My labor started during a blizzard, and I arrived at the hospital just 40 minutes before the baby was born. We stayed there from Thursday to Monday, because my husband was delivering a trailer to California. We checked out as soon as he returned. When I saw the bill I burst into tears because it was so high.

"We managed to keep afloat through a variety of part-time jobs and a bounteous garden, and we each continued as part-time students. Both children attended a parent-cooperative day care center where I could work in exchange for part-time child care, and also be with my children at least part of the day. We went to the Free Medical Clinic when we needed to. We couldn't use the services of the Visiting Nurse Association because they required regular visits to a physician which we could not afford.

"Our third child was born at home, with the help of my husband, his mother and two friends. We paid the two friends, but there was no hospital bill.

"Now my daughter is in 1st grade, and I'm with the boys until early afternoon when we pick up my husband after his classes and I go to work driving a city bus until 6:30 p.m. on weekdays. With my husband able to watch the children, all my pay can go for family expenses instead of child care. We are fortunate in many ways. We have our health, our own home, enough to eat and our 3 children."

A concluding statement would be superfluous.

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Let's Join Hands for Human Understanding

Thomasyne Lightfoote Wilson

Donna J. Harris, Merrill-Palmer Institute, Detroit

TO EXAMINE HUMAN UNDERSTANDING, we shall explore its nature and uses from three points of emphasis: (1) by characterizing the meaning or meanings of human understanding, especially in the context of what we *used to be when we were human;* (2) by reviewing the legacy and consequences of inhumanity (i.e., what a lack of understanding brings); and (3) by proposing a process for human understanding through multicultural consciousness.[1] I shall offer a foundation for human understanding; that is, multicultural consciousness to BE in a community-family of different persons who will honestly perceive, receive and value each other.

The Meaning of Human Understanding

What was it about being human that made human understanding possible, that impelled human beings to reach out and join hands *when we were human*? This question—our first point of emphasis—requires an investigation of some early characteristics of humanity; so let us look at our begin-

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[1] T. Lightfoote Wilson, *Toward Equitable Education—A Handbook for Multicultural Consciousness* (Broderick, CA: Ujamaa Pub., 1037 Anna St., 1976), Chap. IV.

As she probes the meaning of human understanding, Thomasyne Lightfoote Wilson urges us to remember our humanity, to "relinquish the bars of fear, suspicion and distance between us." This stirring account is an adaptation of Dr. Wilson's talk at the 1979 ACEI Study Conference in St. Louis, Missouri, April 8-13. The author, Professor of Education at San Jose State University, is currently on assignment as a Fulbright Scholar at the University of Liberia, Monrovia, Liberia, West Africa.

nings in the Olduvai Gorge of East Africa where humankind started.[2] Remnants of these early characteristics of humanity remain among such hunting-gathering peoples as the Mbuti of the rainforest[3] and the !Kung tribes.

Early humanity was characterized by the inclination to *include* all persons born into the human family whether blind, myopic or sighted; whether three feet, five feet or seven feet tall. The tendency was to perceive and identify the strengths of newcomers. Adults were to give "credit" and welcome to the one leg, partial vision and whatever *abilities that did exist*, rather than using a deficit model that stressed rejection, exclusion and remaking of "deficient" newcomers. Early human characteristics involved making human contacts, noticing, being near, touching[4] and *being with* different types of persons. At that time, people seemed less afraid of each other. In addition to using human contacts, early humankind *connected* their various strengths. Conventional and unconventional abilities were *connected* in complementary functions to reach group goals. All human strengths and energy were *received* and, in time, *valued* as necessary complements—although sometimes "opposites"—who needed each other.[5] In short, early humanity realized the basic truth that the survival of humankind depends upon human nearness, trust, communication and complementarity of different selves. These are also the basic ingredients for human understanding in our time; that is, human understanding requires daily practice of the qualities of our early humanity.

The Legacy of Inhumanity

The second point of emphasis deals with the legacy of inhumanity—consequences of not practicing the qualities of humaneness with each other. Newspaper headlines throughout the world reflect this inhumanity: "Father Murders Six Children," "Sniper Downs 15 Co-eds," "Rapist Invades Convent," "Four in Suicide-Murder." On and on goes the abusive disregard for others and ourselves. What are some roots of this legacy?

This legacy of inhumanity has been associated with diminutions of the SELF—feelings of impotence, nobodyness and a lack of BEing. Individualization is much talked about without the attendant individuality and identity that are offsprings of human relationships. Maslow has called these diminutions of humanness *metapathologies*—illnesses or stunting of *self*.[6] Some of these diminutions of humanness—the legacy of inhumanity—are experienced in the following forms: feelings of alienation, apathy, resignation, fatalism, valuelessness, spiritual staleness, meaninglessness of life, indifference, hopelessness, defeatism, despair, cynicism, loss of faith and metagrumbles.[7] A lack of human understanding breeds these and other pathologies that thwart our ability to BE and that crush our caring.

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[2] Richard Leakey & R. Lewin, *Origins* (New York: Doubleday, 1977) and *People of the Lake* (New York: Dutton, 1978); L. S. B. Leakey, "A New Species of the Genus Homo from Olduvai Gorge," *Nature* (London, 1964), pp. 3-9; cf. W. W. Bishop & J. Desmond Clark (eds.), *Background to Evolution in Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 7-29.

[3] Patricia Draper, "!Kung Women: Contrasts in Sexual Egalitarianism in Foraging and Sedentary Contexts" in *Toward an Anthropology of Women* ed. by Rayna R. Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), pp. 77-109. Cf. James Gibbs, *Peoples of Africa* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965).

[4] See Ashley Montagu, *Touching* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975).

[5] Paul R. Ehrlich & Anne H. Ehrlich, "Humanity at the Crossroads," *The Stanford Magazine*, Spring/Summer 1978, pp. 20-23.

[6] Abraham H. Maslow, *The Farther Reaches of Human Nature* (New York: Viking Press, 1973), p. 371.

I watched an example of this inhumanity being continually schooled into the young. Let me share the experience with you. Joe was 6 years old. He had learned well his lessons in valuing *some* human beings as being "better than" others. He came to his teacher, wide-eyed, with his 156th "individualized ditto" in hand. He exclaimed: "See Ms. Jones, I know all my colors, and Quida can't say hers." Turning to Joe with a smile of approval, Ms. Jones replied, "You're a good boy, Joe. You're right. Quida doesn't know her work, but you're smart. I'm glad you're a good boy."

Let us review some of the possible reinforcement of inhumane exclusivity in this "Joe-Quida-Ms. Jones incident." What are some of the modeled inequitable teachings being transmitted to Joe, to Quida, to all children and adults of this classroom? Notice that: (1) Joe expected Ms. Jones to approve of him. He knew the "right" answer at the "right" time. (2) He expected Ms. Jones to allow him to devalue Quida, without protest. (3) Joe's perceptions of his "goodness" and "smartness" were set *against* Quida's "non-goodness," "non-smartness." (4) Reinforcement of Joe's meaning of "a smart person as a good person and a good person as one who knows answers" was evident. (5) Quida was made valueless as a girl who did not know, was not good and was not smart. (6) Ms. Jones behaved as Joe expected. She gave Joe praise, and she made him believe in *his* image of *his* goodness and value, at Quida's expense.

Joe felt "attended to" and rewarded by the teacher. Joe was happy. He was favored. Unfortunately, his "reality" about himself (and Quida) was distorted. He gained no truth about *what* is goodness, *who* are "good" people and *who* are "smart" people. He gained only erroneous meanings about the essence of knowing, goodness, smartness, happiness, achievement, valuing and BEing.

Joe perceived all erroneous and negative images about Quida's "differentness." These images further distorted his realities about himself and Quida. Certainly, Quida was different in her concepts of colors and her skill in choosing the "right" colors (at age 6, 10 o'clock in the morning) when the teacher asked her to do so. Nevertheless, beyond the normative expectations of perceiving crayon, by colors, and choosing the same, Quida could tie her shoes, zip her sweater in the back, count and add, and write manuscript letters with straighter lines and curves than all the other children. Joe was not reminded of Quida's "goodness," "smartness" and value with regard to *her* abilities.[8]

The values and behaviors of Ms. Jones and Joe demonstrated the customary guises of inhumanity—implicit and explicit. How pervasive inhumanity is and how it chokes understanding!

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[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 299-340.

[8] T. Lightfoote Wilson, *Toward Equitable Education*, pp. 10-11.

A Process for Human Understanding

What I propose therefore—the third point of emphasis—is a direction toward human understanding, a process for experiencing equitable relationships that foster a sense of *selfness WITH others*. This proposal offers "Five Bases of Multicultural Education" (Schema I).

Base #1 implores all of us to realize our personal potency—the strength, energy and human possibilities for understanding that exist when each person makes human contacts, especially with persons not like self. Base #1 requires a willingness to *be with* persons who are "different" from self's norms in any significant way. Different persons may be blind, controversial, black, paraplegic or different in size, ethnicity, living style, age, sex, beliefs, religion, teaching style, politics, skin color, weight, etc. *Being with* the "different"—whether persons, places or phenomena—can teach human beings *how to live*. We can learn that "opposites" and contradictions are conflicts that the mind has learned to create. Like life and death, these different people and "opposites" in our experiences are complementary factors.[9] War and conflicts within ourselves regarding the "different" are products of our fears, frustrations and lack of hopeful BEing.

Base #2 deals with the need to examine one's stereotypes, to recognize the feelings and predispositions one tends to have when coming close to someone who is "different" from self. It requires human beings to admit to self the prejudices that exist—whether the prejudices are against Jews, Afro-Americans, Italians, the deaf, homosexuals, people who weigh 300 pounds, Mexicans, Republicans, Asian-Americans, Catholics, hookers, Gypsies, children, the crippled, the aged, the impoverished and any person who does not fit the norms honored by self.

Base #2 requires an examination of the *eyes* through which we look at persons who are not like one's self. When investigating the perspectives of enculturation and acculturation through which one looks, a certain fuzziness of vision and distortions in perception might be discovered. Schema II —"Enculturative and Acculturative Influences, A Self-cleansing Grid"—is provided to increase self's consciousness about the forces that have shaped prejudices and predispositions.

Base #3 emphasizes truth-seeking—searching for processes and content that will not stress "the answer" and artifacts alone. The goals of Base #3 are to help each person: (1) to discover essences of different people and of self; (2) to use a diversity of channels, methodologies, equipment, peoples, means of communication and subjects in search of truth, justice and BEing; (3) to expand the range of legitimate (acceptable) knowledge, thinking and feelings that characterize and house different BEings; and (4) to be authentic and just.[10]

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[9] Consult the work of theoretical physicists and cosmologists at the University of California's Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory (Dr. Elizabeth Rauscher, Fundamental Fysicks Group, 1974). See also Alan W. Watts, *The Meaning of Happiness* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), pp. 3-15; see Jung's ideas on the seeming disparateness of WHOLENESS, as simplified by Jolande Jacobi, *The Psychology of C. G. Jung* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), pp. 5-58, 99-147.

[10] T. Lightfoote Wilson, "Notes Toward a Process of Afro-American Education," *Harvard Educational Review* 42 (Aug. 1972): pp. 374-89.

Base #4 of the "Five Bases of Multicultural Education" stresses the difficult task of creating human connections among different persons. It aims to develop, in learners and teachers, a willingness to receive the skills and abilities of persons who are not like self and to value these different abilities. This receiving and valuing can occur through complementary functions that different persons would perform for common objectives or goals (Figure 1).

Base #5 entails a willingness to set for one's belief system a philosophy (and practice) that upholds horizontal and interdependent human relationships. Base #5 requires a belief (and practice) that no person has the right to dominate another.

When Bases 1–4 are practiced, then Base #5 will also be in effect, usually; that is, Base #1 requires ***human contacts*** with different persons, while Base #2 calls for an examination of self's feelings and dispositions when ***human contacts*** are made with different persons. Base #2 also expects the individual to investigate all of self's prejudices against persons who do not fit self's norms. Base #3 suggests that truths and authenticity can come as one accurately perceives different peoples' ways of seeing the world; that is, selfness develops as one receives different ways of BEing to be as valid for the users as self's norms and behaviors. These different avenues of living are grist for the mill of truth-seeking. Base #4 requires ***human connections*** that facilitate the use of different strengths and BEings of people. Base #4 stresses complementary functions and relationships among people, not inferior-superior transactions. Base #5 represents the philosophical "fruit" as well as the "seed" for all "Five Bases of Multicultural Education." It says, in a sense, that the person (the teacher, for example) who is *ready* to join hands in human understanding is one who ***will not behave in dominating, doctrinaire and domineering ways*** (see "Characteristics of the Equitable Teacher," Outline I).

Joining Hands for Understanding—A Moral Imperative

In closing, I would like to emphasize that joining hands for understanding is not an idle wish or need. It is an overdue moral imperative that can make the promises of *weness* in the Declaration of Independence a reality. You will recall that the Declaration was a means of saying to Britain: "We hold these truths . . . that all persons (if you will allow my editorializing) are created equal. . . ." America was saying *we* do not wish to be ruled by an aristocracy. *We* shall not be imprisoned by an oligarchy, nor will our consciences be held in ransom by a theocracy or a monarchy. Instead, as the Constitution later declared: *We the people* will be the constituency to *be* free to *be our varied selves*. My plea is for us to recognize the importance of joining hands for understanding, joining ***with*** each other and relinquishing the bars of fear, suspicion and distance between us (Outline II).

Exits from the prison bars of distrust and fear are available within our varied selves if we allow *self* to *be whole*, and being *whole* requires a sense of *we-ness*. It requires ALL of *us*.

> Who among us can be *Complete? Real? Human?*
> If we have not yoked the self with others' toils?
> If we have not lived within the strides of others' pains?
> If we have not clasped sad hands in supportive love?
> If we have not played and felt the joy of others' songs?
> If we have not sensed and salved oppressive guilts?
> If we have not wedded "realities" outside our own?
> If we have not . . . we have yet to BE.[11]

Joining hands in understanding will permit us to sing the old spiritual from the depths of our souls: "Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty I'm free at last."

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[11] T. Lightfoote Wilson, *Toward Equitable Education*, p. 180. Used with permission. Cf. W. V. Pietsch, *Human BEing* (New York: New American Library, 1974).

Schema I

The Five Bases of Multicultural Education*

BASE #1	BASE #2	BASE #3	BASE #4	BASE #5
A willingness to interact *with* (and actually to participate, share and care *with*) individuals and members of groups who are "different" from self; noticing and having human contacts with persons who are not like self linguistically, in age, values, lifestyle, race, sex, politics, body size, culture or any other significant ways. Interacting persons are to perceive differences as they are and not judgmentally as they wish the different person to be. Base #1 requires an ability to bring self's energy and interests *with* another who is unconventional in terms of "middle class" norms.	A willingness to examine (and admit) one's own stereotypes, predispositions and dispositional behaviors toward "different" peoples, ages, sexes, ethnic groups, languages, philosophies, mores and lifestyles.	Truth-seeking behaviors, inclinations and desires; searching for historical, socioeconomic, ethnic and other truths regarding "different" persons; a willingness to seek and recognize truths about one's own culture, fears, aspirations, mortality, fantasies, ethnicity, etc. Using truth-seeking processes, diverse theories and subject content.	A willingness to receive the skills and abilities of different individuals and cultures; to demonstrate valuing of persons' talents, lifestyles, etc. that are different from one's own. Base #4 requires individual abilities to be *connected* by means of complementary functions; hence, human connections occur as individuals perform complementary tasks toward group objectives.	A willingness to set a personal goal—a philosophy—that upholds horizontal human distinctions and not hierarchical stratifications due to social, ethnic, economic, sexual or other differences; the goal is to erase rankings that imply the belief that one human being is better than another; the goal is to erase the inclination to allow one human being to dominate another.

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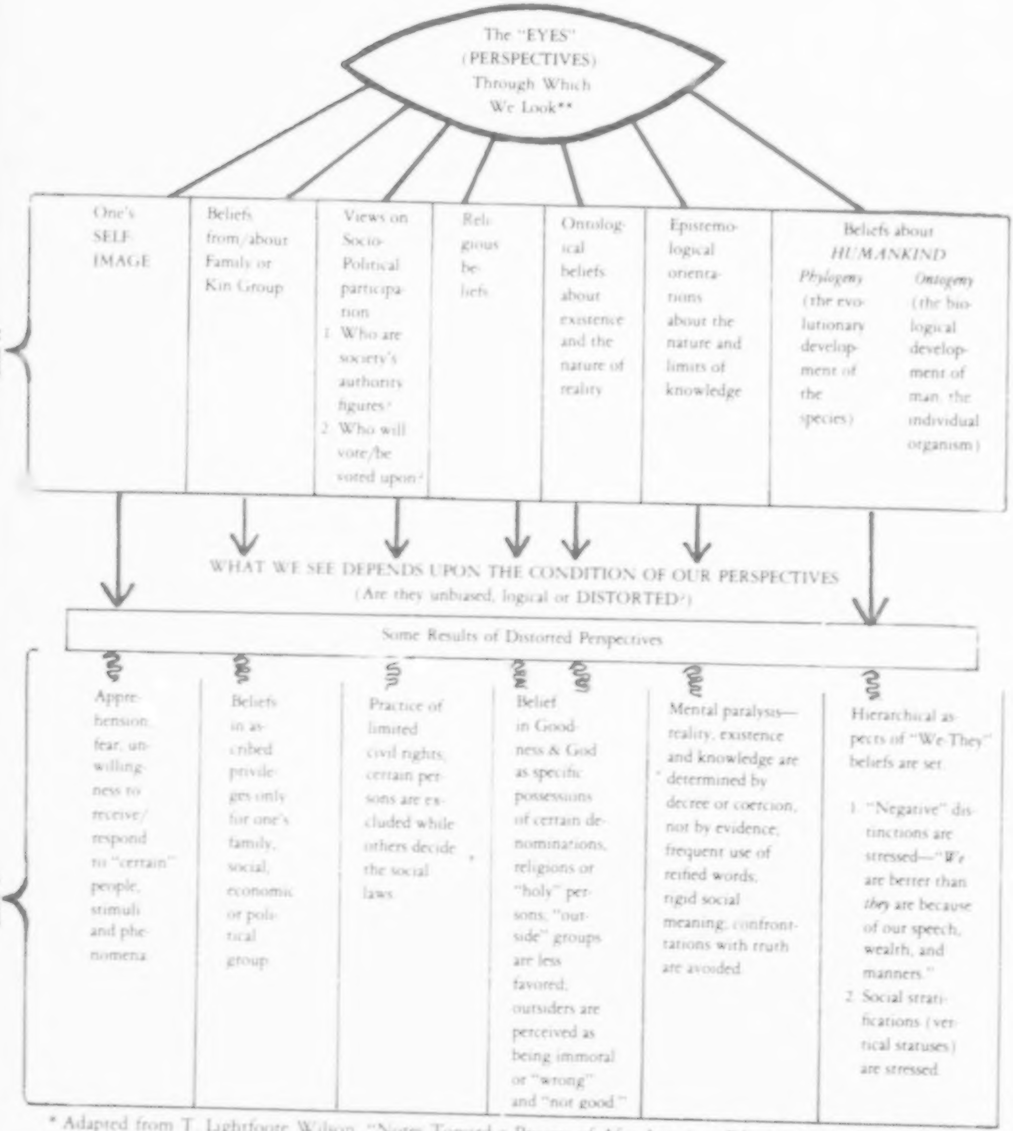
* Adapted from T. Lightfoote Wilson, "Five Bases of Multicultural Education," *Toward Equitable Education—A Handbook for Multicultural Consciousness* (Broderick, CA: Ujamaa Pub., 1037 Anna St., 1976), p. 50.

Schema II
Enculturative and Acculturative Influences That Can Imprison Selfness

*Perspectives and Levels of Distortion**
(A Self-cleansing Grid)
(Seeking Truthful Paths to Personal and "Groupness" Identities)



The "EYES"
(PERSPECTIVES)
Through Which
We Look**

Line A	One's SELF IMAGE	Beliefs from/about Family or Kin Group	Views on Socio-Political participation 1. Who are society's authority figures? 2. Who will vote/be voted upon?	Religious beliefs	Ontological beliefs about existence and the nature of reality	Epistemological orientations about the nature and limits of knowledge	Beliefs about *HUMANKIND* *Phylogeny* (the evolutionary development of the species) *Ontogeny* (the biological development of man, the individual organism)

WHAT WE SEE DEPENDS UPON THE CONDITION OF OUR PERSPECTIVES
(Are they unbiased, logical or DISTORTED?)

Some Results of Distorted Perspectives

Line B	Apprehension, fear, unwillingness to receive/respond to "certain" people, stimuli and phenomena	Beliefs in ascribed privileges only for one's family, social, economic or political group	Practice of limited civil rights; certain persons are excluded while others decide the social laws	Belief in Goodness & God as specific possessions of certain denominations, religions or "holy" persons; "outside" groups are less favored; outsiders are perceived as being immoral or "wrong" and "not good."	Mental paralysis—reality, existence and knowledge are determined by decree or coercion, not by evidence; frequent use of reified words; rigid social meaning; confrontations with truth are avoided	Hierarchical aspects of "We-They" beliefs are set. 1. "Negative" distinctions are stressed—"*We* are better than *they* are because of our speech, wealth, and manners." 2. Social stratifications (vertical statuses) are stressed.

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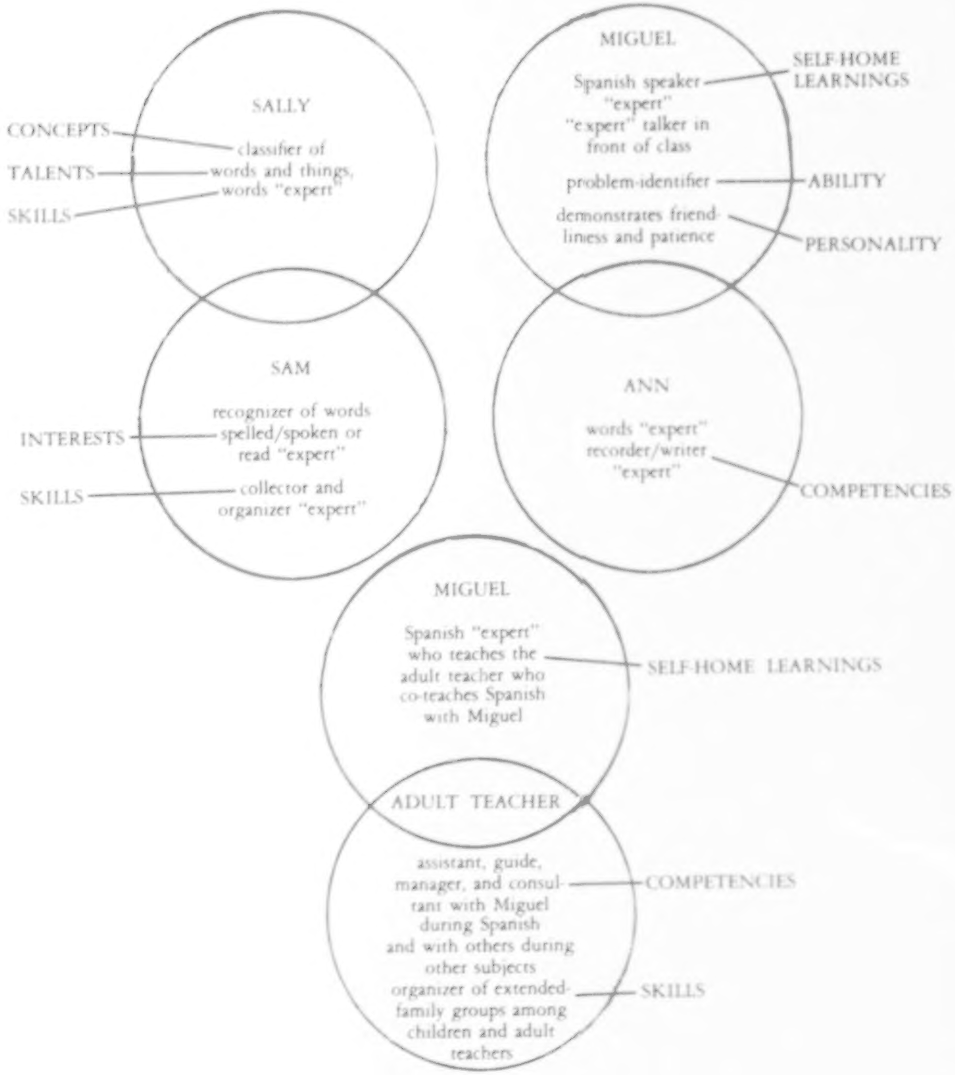
* Adapted from T. Lightfoote Wilson, "Notes Toward a Process of Afro-American Education," *Harvard Educational Review* 42 (Aug. 1972): pp. 374-89.

** What we actually *SEE* is influenced by all of the above determinants to which we have been conditioned.

Figure 1

CONNECTING STUDENTS' STRENGTHS*


SALLY
CONCEPTS
TALENTS
SKILLS
classifier of words and things, words "expert"
MIGUEL
Spanish speaker "expert" "expert" talker in front of class
SELF-HOME LEARNINGS
problem-identifier
ABILITY
demonstrates friendliness and patience
PERSONALITY
SAM
INTERESTS
recognizer of words spelled/spoken or read "expert"
SKILLS
collector and organizer "expert"
ANN
words "expert" recorder/writer "expert"
COMPETENCIES
MIGUEL
Spanish "expert" who teaches the adult teacher who co-teaches Spanish with Miguel
SELF-HOME LEARNINGS
ADULT TEACHER
assistant, guide, manager, and consultant with Miguel during Spanish and with others during other subjects
COMPETENCIES
organizer of extended-family groups among children and adult teachers
SKILLS

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*T. Lightfoote Wilson, *Toward Equitable Education*, p. 85. Base #4 aims to change the traditional "language games" and modes that insist there should be ONE adult teacher—ONE knower, ONE authority, ONE responsible "maker of rules," ONE organizer of the classroom environment. Applying Base #4 requires the "soliciting and responding" process that Belleck et al. spoke about. Students' and adults' skills will be mutually used and valued. See Arno A. Belleck et al. *The Language of the Classroom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), Chap. 9.

Outline I

Characteristics of the Equitable Teacher

Persons who are ready to join in human understanding are those who:

1. Believe ALL persons *can learn*
2. Expect all of self's excellence from all learners; those who look for different forms/kinds of excellence and intellect and will praise them
3. Can listen WITH various types of persons and receive WHAT they have to say and not judge or be deterred from the message by HOW they say it
4. Willingly share their skills and materials with peers, parents, students, administrators and the community
5. Perceive the strengths of various students; will identify different abilities and skills among students and guide students to see each other's varied and necessary abilities
6. Will guide daily HUMAN CONTACTS* and discussions among students; will assure open communication about students' fears, conflicts, successes, prejudices, hopes, disagreements, aspirations and other concerns; HUMAN CONTACTS are to begin the day (set a "warmth-of-the-womb" feeling in the classroom)
7. Identify and use their personal and instructional strengths WITH others
8. Recall human motives and use them to encourage learners and learning
9. Guide students to recognize purposes and objectives of lessons; learners will explain what they will be doing with each other in a lesson and why
10. Recognize key concepts of the subject-matter; will thoroughly comprehend what they are teaching
11. Organize HUMAN CONNECTIONS* among learners through complementary functions; students' complementary strengths and complementary tasks will be used to teach each other and learn from each other to maximize learning and caring
12. Recognize and use two or more different styles of teaching to assure appropriate instruction for unconventional and conventional learning styles
13. Identify and demonstrate three or more types of teacher talk (verbal interactions) to provide feedback during lessons (e.g., ask questions pertinent to concepts in lesson, receive the students' moods when responding, and use students' responses to questions to guide additional lessons)
14. Experience HUMAN CONTACTS and HUMAN CONNECTIONS with parents and peers who are not like themselves in identifiable ways; e.g., different in beliefs, values, ethnicity, teaching style, speech pattern, language, socioeconomics, physical, emotional or other abilities or disabilities

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**HUMAN CONTACTS* are ways of noticing, caring for and expressing greetings to other persons; some examples of noticing are: saying hello, shaking hands, sharing a book or pencil. *HUMAN CONNECTIONS* occur when two or more persons use their skills or abilities to complete an objective. See T. Lightfoote Wilson, *Toward Equitable Education*.

Outline II

Summary of Elements That Can Facilitate Human Understanding Characteristics of Humanness—When We Were Human

A KINDS AND COMPOSITION OF HUMANNESS	B BEHAVIORS AND VALUES
1. A Community-Family of multicultural humanity and humankind; non "melting pot" humanity	1. All types of humankind were kinspeople; distinct peoples were valued
2. Different persons were included and perceived, e.g., blind, deaf, black, red, brown, albino, physically handicapped, 80 lbs. or 300 lbs. weight, hairy, smooth, etc	2. Diverse physical, emotional and economic abilities were RECEIVED as being advantageous for the Community-Family
3. Individual skills, artifacts and talents were identified; however, essences of persons were more important	3. Concern for peoples' essences and the quality of living preceded concern for property and economic profit
4. Human contacts were experienced daily—close physical, social and psychological affiliations; distance reduced between different persons	4. Daily experiences aimed to satisfy human emotions and needs within a mosaic of agri-economics and sociocultural relationships
5. Human beings were CONNECTED WITH each other for survival and development—each person was considered a necessary complement to/of others	5. A fundamental belief was that survival was/is possible only if varied peoples congregate and complement each other's energy, joy, sorrow, play and work; interdependence was practiced
6. Groupness organization and membership—key feature/s of human relationships	6. Human contacts and connections (#s 4 & 5 in "A") were valued as processes for reinforcing feelings of belonging and participation
7. Stewardship of each other and justice meted with mercy in relationships, including conflicting transactions	7. Equitable interactions and transactions were valued; nonvertical relationships were the goal
8. Usufruct of land—functional ownership of land by all to serve human needs	8. Sharing was practiced and praised; this meant sharing of land, tools or other items of consumption; personal "control" was not valued
9. Education consisted of all activities and knowledge worthy to benefit everyone	9. All persons were co-educators; educative practices were decided BY ALL, THROUGH ALL, FOR ALL
10. Diverse types and number of subject-matter sources, concepts and theories to complement #s 2 and 3 above	10. Unconventional persons and unconventional resources, tools, ideas and talents were employed
11. Intragroup achievement and evaluation—horizontal peer "checking" of each other's functions while achieving group goals through #s 4, 5, 6 & 10 above	11. Tendency to value group achievement and assessment of members' complementary functions
12. Care and conservation of the earth's natural resources	12. Stress was on living WITH nature and using all resources carefully

Section 3

The School

The school, another important element of the child's world, can enhance learning that takes place in the home. Although in some respects schools have remained the same over time, several major changes have occurred in the past 25 years.

The Head Start movement of the mid-'60s ushered in a focus on formal educational programs before 1st grade. Some programs extended downward to serve infants and toddlers. A new emphasis on quality in preschool programming emerged, both in day care for children of working parents and in part-day nursery schools.

By 1970, most states supported kindergarten programs for some portion of their 5-year-olds. A few states began to provide prekindergarten classes for younger children. Early childhood professionals voiced concern that these programs should emphasize developmentally appropriate practice instead of a watered-down academic primary curriculum.

On the other end of the elementary grade continuum, junior high schools evolved into middle schools. Serving students from 5th or 6th through 8th grade, these new schools provided a more realistic educational transition between elementary and high school. In the new programs, changes were designed to enhance the quality of the educational environment at different age levels. New ideas for curriculum were generated, although a few continuing themes have remained unchanged over the years.

One topic of interest in the early '70s centered on the world's environment and ways in which schools could assist students in understanding related problems. Other themes involved the interaction of children with curriculum and varied teaching methods. Concern for children who "tuned out" to school as early as 1st grade was evident. A reexamination of readiness introduced a multidimensional definition that allowed for continuity and change in a child's development. A new look at curriculum development revealed the need to consider both individuality and sociality when planning programs that "cultivate" children's excitement in learning instead of producing "products."

Old topics of continuing interest included practices that damage children's self-concept in school, varied grouping and substitution of workbooks for good teaching. Newer topics were concerned with education of both sides of the brain, a look at nonverbal silent messages of both adults and children, and sex education. The issue of testing in schools remained a perplexing problem for those seeking to provide quality in educational programs.

The articles in this section on "The School" point to trends in education that have occurred over the past quarter century. Some of them focus on new ways of providing educational support for children. Others direct attention toward possible solutions to ongoing problems in many school settings. They remind us that old habits die slowly and continuing issues and challenges must be addressed in the field of education.—**E. Anne Eddowes, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Alabama, Birmingham**

Very Early Childhood Education for Infants and Toddlers

Christine Z. Cataldo

WHEN DISCUSSING the subject of infant programs, it is not unusual to be greeted with the comment, "But, what can you do with a baby?" Unlike the more familiar notion of good day care for the very young, education under 3 is a rather new concept. Yet, the infant or toddler who participates in a group situation gains something special, something that can be described as educational. When needed, infant programs can also serve a role in preventing and remediating developmental problems.

Part-time infant/toddler programs can be incorporated into many different types of preschool and child care settings. If babies are expected to gain from their participation in such an effort, the group must be small, the environment organized, and the adults alert and responsive. Once these basics are established, it is important to employ strategies that pinpoint and describe how education for infants and toddlers is actually carried out. These strategies will be discussed in the context of the overall purposes of infant and toddler programming.

Purposes of Infant and Toddler Education

Implementation of any effective program involves understanding of intended purposes and scope. Two major themes emerge from an examination of published material for teachers and caregivers who work with the very young. One is that programs should help the baby fully develop the sequence of specific skills and abilities thought to express and develop competence in growth and learning (Caldwell and Stedman, 1977; Cohen, 1977; Day and Parker, 1977; Fowler, 1980). Achievement of these "milestone" behaviors and skills enables the infant to become increasingly competent in such areas as motor control, experimentation and mastery with toys, communication and expression, and successful interactions with others.

When focusing upon these abilities, program staff members facilitate and monitor the baby's development by conscious attention to progress. Through play, stimulation and thoughtful caregiving, infants and toddlers are helped to learn and understand more about what they experience around them. Thus, skills are not usually taught in the didactic sense; they emerge with encouragement and improve with adult mediation and appropriate materials. The methods are informal but meaningful and educational in nature.

The second major purpose of infant programs, which has both historical tradition and contemporary validity, is to help the baby develop a personal and social self.

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This includes the ability to manage feelings, maintain relationships and demonstrate individuality (Gonzalez-Mena and Eyer, 1980; Jones, 1980; Willis and Riccuiti, 1975). Babies are, in a sense, emergent people. Their temperament and personal style take on the dimensions of a personality during the first 4 years of life. From the time that infants begin to demonstrate food preferences, toy interests or special abilities, adults play a role in forming character. Professionals contribute to the child's developing personal-social style by the manner in which they handle the baby's feelings and needs. The attention and affection that are provided, the behaviors that are respected, the qualities that are valued—these grow into positive self-concepts and feelings of worth that help the baby grow up confident and capable.

Thus, these two overall goals of infant and toddler education reflect recent trends toward general competence and well-being in home and day care (Aston, 1971; Caplan and Caplan, 1977; Leach, 1976; White, 1975) and toward acquisition of developmental milestones such as in curriculum-style materials and early intervention (Karnes, 1979; Koch, 1976; Levy, 1973; Marzollo and Lloyd, 1972; Meier and Malone, 1979; Painter, 1971; Sparling and Lewis, 1981; Stein 1976; and Watrin and Furfey, 1978).

Differences in Infant Versus Preschool Programming

In establishing the value for the early years of social exchanges, play opportunities, experiential learning, a carefully planned environment, and supportive attention of adults, early childhood education has contributed greatly to the structure and form of infant and toddler programs. Yet there are some important priorities for infants and toddlers that create additional program qualities.

Babies have urgent physical, emotional and developmental needs. The interpersonal and environmental features of the program therefore become critical to effectiveness. With babies, more attention is focused upon one-to-one physical care, the adults' emotional availability, and the stimulation of, and response to, basic developmental growth. This makes infant education intensely personal in nature—a difference from the more distal, group-centered management of the social and physically skilled preschooler.

Also important at the infant level is an

appropriate response to the very rapid pace at which development proceeds in the opening years of life. This requires that infant education focus upon developmental progessions in abilities as well as in personal development. Teachers and caregivers need to monitor and consciously enhance learning in these areas. This differs somewhat from the primary use of incidental and discovery learning and peer social learning that predominate at the preschool level.

Still other developmental qualities of infants and toddlers dictate program concerns. For example, infants are vulnerable to extremes in stimulation—too much can be distressing, too little can depress motivation and learning. Toddler's egocentrism and independence strivings are often misunderstood; the behavior is not as problematic when adults perceive its contribution to growth and the role of preventive planning in its control.

Finally, adults who work with babies need some special skills (Honig and Lally, 1981). They must be able to observe and meet specific needs in each individual child, against a backdrop of knowledge of overall developmental norms from birth to 3 and 4 years. They must also be emotionally responsive, enjoy the physical contact involved in the care of babies, and appreciate the give-and-take needed to manage the active toddler. In cases where developmental delays are apparent, the teacher/caregiver needs some competence in conducting specific exercises or providing experiences that focus on identified needs, especially in the motor and language domains.

To highlight these differences between infant and preschool programming is not to imply any discontinuity. Indeed, there may be more commonality than is often recognized. But it is important to clarify how the special qualities of infants and toddlers influence the roles of teachers, the design of environments and the implementation of educational policies and programs.

Infant Program Strategies

The process of education in childhood can be said to begin in the bassinet or, more appropriately, in the arms of a loving parent. Following this secure beginning, when the infant is stabilized in body functions (usually 3-4 months) and healthy enough to be exposed to others, he or she can most likely participate in a small group

Photographs (except next page) courtesy of author and Early Childhood Research Center, SUNY at Buffalo, Amherst, NY

program. Of course, parents need to feel that program goals and strategies are complementary to the family experience. After completing a gradual introduction to the program setting and staff, the baby is usually able to play and respond to others without much stress associated with separation from the parent. Indeed, many mothers and fathers can serve as regularly scheduled participant/helpers—a valued program feature (Cataldo, 1980).

Basic good caregiving of babies is essential. An effective program also employs an assortment of educational strategies. Discussed below are a "basic dozen" such ingredients in this process, all of which apply to any type of part- or full-time, home- or center-based program for these very early years.

An educational infant/toddler program provides:

☐ *Energetic teachers*, in adequate numbers, who talk to babies, encourage them to try new skills, watch for their needs, and mediate their experiences so that learning and personal growth are supported. The teacher/caregiver works with babies within the daily program, using many naturally occurring learning opportunities, responding quickly to needs and giving abundant affection and praise. This interpersonal aspect of the program is most critical in assuring a pleasant and personal experience for the child.

☐ *A cheerful, secure environment* that provides both familiarity and variety, promotes good feelings in its atmosphere, and facilitates open, child-paced learning in its materials and arrangements. This environment contains playthings and equipment appropriate for the first 3 years of life. They are organized into relatively distinct "interest areas" that reflect a range of typical infant and toddler activities; i.e., an exercise area, block and vehicle area, small manipulative toy area, quiet area, potty/diaper area, etc. Toys are well-maintained (commercial and teacher-made) and available most of the day.

☐ *Playmates* who model different approaches to people and playthings, who share and participate in discoveries and reflect comparable feelings and needs. Peers are a source of play and learning for babies; they help each other to develop language and social-interactional abilities. Even very young babies respond to the nearness of one another with smiles, vocalizations and touching. Toddlers learn important social rules and the rudiments of respect and concern for others.

☐ *An abundance of available playthings* designed to encourage learning at many levels of difficulty and in all areas of development, including those emphasizing physical mastery, imagination and problem-solving. Small toys, a variety of sensory and art materials, and larger pieces of commercial equipment provide sensory, manipulative and peer experiences through play. With adult guidance, they are used by infants and toddlers in a way that builds intellectual, physical and social skills. Toys are an important part of the young child's world of daily play and exploration. Adults can

Photograph by Betty Holden Mosher, Springfield, VA

observe toy uses to determine the child's developmental status and personal interests.

☐ *Simple games* designed to stimulate good feelings and positive, play-oriented interactions with others. They also develop habits of attention and task persistence. Examples include games with balls, dolls, rubber animals, hidden objects, and surprise and peek-a-boo games. Such games help adults and children to attend and interact—then become familiar with one another in a play situation. Those which are easy to master also help babies to feel competent and involved.

☐ *Daily routines* that help to organize the day and provide repeated contact with familiar people and events. Routines can assure that babies' needs are met with consistency. Often a good deal of the learning and emotional/social support provided to infants and toddlers is integrated into such daily routines as dressing, washing, diapering and eating. This is done informally, with conversation and affectionate game playing as routines are carried out. The child not only learns names for things and procedures for independent care of self but experiences a sense of security as well.

☐ *Meaningful sensory and language experiences* that aid perception, self-expression, thinking and communication. Concrete, participatory activities with varying textures, sights and sounds help babies to grow in their abilities to observe and understand. Experiences with natural objects, music, fluid media (sand, water, clay), playhouses with role play props, and books and pictures enable children to feel, see, hear and talk throughout the program. These enriching activities provide an experiential base for present and later intellectual development.

☐ *Planned and spontaneous task-oriented activities* that challenge and reinforce developing skills, reveal needs, and provide stimulation and opportunities to discover new competencies. Babies are urged to work with simple nesting toys, puzzles, take-apart games, assorted containers and climbing equipment. As they work with these materials, they grow in ability and reveal to their teachers special needs for further experience.

☐ *Space and frequent opportunities* for independent exploration, discovery and practice that enable infants and toddlers to play at their own pace with activities of their own choosing. Unstructured time, open (but organized) physical space, and the appropriate withdrawal of teacher instruction are often necessary to development of the child's motivation to participate in learning as a self-satisfying activity. Even the youngest babies need some free time to express themselves and demonstrate some self-reliance, to try out skills and to look for interesting play situations. Through observation of this process of self-definition, teachers/caregivers receive help in understanding the child's needs and interests.

☐ *Small and brief group times* in which babies can attend to others, participate with adults and share with their peers a specific activity. Simple participatory songs and stories, with gestures, help to develop social skills and the pleasure felt in joining a play group. Small infants enjoy watching others; older babies and toddlers can participate in ten minutes of a singing, puppetry or rhythmic activity. Often these times provide very special periods of lively amusement for everyone in the program.

☐ *Quiet periods* alone or with relaxed, affectionate adults to permit a baby to be cuddled or be passive, to gather energy for other activities or quietly play with a favorite toy. Individual rest times are very important to the infant/toddler program. They not only protect children from overstimulation and exhaustion but also enable adults to provide the soothing physical contact, rocking, snuggling and stroking that are important aspects of babies' involvement with others.

☐ *Opportunities for adults to observe and record* individual and group progress in accordance with developmental guidelines. These norms provide a starting point, but they also need to be weighted against each child's unique history and developmental-personal pattern of growth. The maintenance of accurate information about children's status and behavior is the responsibility of all educational programs. With appropriate adjustments of norms and standards, programs can support development yet allow the baby's own developmental clock to operate. The professional should watch closely to determine the significance of any signs of consistent difficulties or extended delays and to provide assistance as needed to bolster the child's progress.

Summary

This discussion of strategies used in conducting an effective educational program for infants and toddlers provides a snapshot of the world of very early childhood education—a skeletal overview of the special qualities of a good program for babies. If recent trends continue, the concept of infant and toddler education will become a permanent part of educational planning for preschool children in diverse settings, and definitions of quality will be more thoroughly understood.

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A fascinating, multidimensional view
of differing styles of child care,
with some practical guidelines
for analyzing learning environments.

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Approaches to Quality in Early Childhood Programs

Elizabeth Prescott

How CAN WE identify quality in early childhood programs? How can we improve it?

For many years Pacific Oaks College has received requests from both parents and teachers for help in responding to these basic questions. Our answers have vacillated from simple, common-sense advice ("go and observe some programs—trust your feelings about how a child would feel in them") to long elaborate descriptions of the many dimensions our research tells us are involved in thinking about quality.

In the discussion that follows I would like (1) to contrast several approaches for judging quality and (2) to describe a short environmental analysis that might be used by a parent or teacher in assessing the degree to which an environment is designed to meet needs commonly found in groups of young children.

LOOKING FOR QUALITY

Quality Will Be Present If . . .

One way of thinking about quality is by prescribing standards—one assumes that if the proper ingredients are provided the cake will turn out edible. Licensing standards and federal interagency day care requirements are examples of this assumption. Such standards set minimum requirements concerning the physical setting, the ratio of children to adults, and the numbers and kinds of persons who may enter the setting. These conditions must be met before the program can operate.

In like manner, school systems have devised credentialling systems and standard curriculum areas that must be covered. These enable administrators to feel that they have responsibly provided for quality, and common sense tells us such standards do prevent certain abuses that might occur in their absence. According to this approach it should be possible to say without ever observing the program that a particular child care center or classroom is better than another simply because the teachers are more highly qualified, the space more adequate, or the adult-child ratio more favorable. These features, however, tell you little about the daily operation of a program.

Quality Has Been Present If . . .

Testing may be thought of as another tool to gauge quality—it assumes that if specified achievement has occurred, good things have happened. Using standardized tests to evaluate children's progress in reading and math or to measure gain in IQ points has been common practice in elementary schools, and with the advent of Head Start has been increasingly used in preschool programs. Unlike the minimum standards approach, this one does concern itself with impact on children. But, even aside from the limitations inherent in measuring specific skills in artificial settings (as opposed to evaluating a wide range of competencies used in real-life situations), the information is not available until the experience is over and seldom provides help to parents or teachers in decision-making.

Quality Is Present If . . .

A third approach has often been used by parents. Focusing on goodness of fit between a particular child and a particular program recasts the issues of quality into a concern for individualization. For parents, the program is of high quality if their child is thriving. In our experience good teachers also share this concern for individual children and are particularly bothered by those who do not seem to be thriving in their program.

In a recent study (Prescott, 1973) this concept of goodness of fit has proved useful for identifying trouble spots in group programs and for helping teachers think about ways to alter environmental constraints.

Evaluating the match between child and program is easier than you might expect. We simply asked teachers to nominate children who were (1) "really thriving," or were (2) "about average," or were (3) "not thriving as hoped." Teachers were always able to do so with relative ease, and their nominations tallied amazingly well with our extensive behavioral observations (Prescott, 1973). Although no differences were observable between groups of thrivers and non-thrivers in behaviors such as amount of aggression, rejection or social interaction, marked differences between the groups appeared in the amount of frustration and rejection they experienced from all sources and in pressure from adults. Non-thrivers consistently experienced the environment as less rewarding and more pressuring than thrivers.

In addition, thrivers engaged in more behaviors that indicated an understanding of cognitive and social constraints, an asset giving them more freedom to use the environment. For example, a thriver might say, "You have five round blocks and I only have three; let me have one of yours"—a tactic likely to succeed. A non-thriver would simply demand a block and receive another tally from us for "receives rejection, frustration." Or a thriver would put away his puzzle, before lining up to go outside; a non-thriver would race to the door and be confronted by teacher with a reminder to put things away and walk *not* run.

ANALYZING THE ENVIRONMENT

Simply to observe thrivers and non-thrivers is instructive, but its particular usefulness lies in the leverage it can give in unearthing the features in environments that are predictably unworkable for certain children. The following steps for looking at an environment may help you think about program choices that make a difference in children's experience.

Step #1

Look at the morning activities and see which of the following formats are most commonly used:

Teacher-directed group activity: The teacher leads an activity in which the children engage as a group, such as story time, music or rhythm games. Children are expected or required to participate.

Teacher-directed individual activity: The teacher has planned an activity in which all children are again expected to participate, but which is carried out individually by each child such as pasting, puzzles or drawing.

Free play: Children are free to choose among all activities available in the room or yard such as swings, sand pile, climbing equipment, etc. The teacher has not made prior preparations, but uses the play area as it exists.

Free choice: Children are free to choose among all activities available; however, the teacher has made prior preparation and has set up one or more activities *especially* for this play period, such as use of a clay table or water play.

Official transitions: These periods provide a spacer between activities required by the adult as essential to the mechanics of group living, such as moving the group from indoors to outdoors, toileting, preparing for departure.

Extensive observation has convinced us that the particular combination of formats adopted by a given program can nearly always be accurately characterized as either open or closed structure. In closed-structure programs, (1) teachers make most of the decisions about how children will be engaged; (2) the two teacher-directed formats cited above predominate, with occasional periods of free play; and (3) official transitions take up a sizeable part of the day since children characteristically start and stop activities at the same time.

Closed settings evoke large amounts of child behavior responsive to external demands, such as obeying, listening, imitating, answering questions. Children are *required* to attend to adults. Thrivers can meet these expectations and still find ways to satisfy their own wishes and desires.

Non-thrivers have trouble with the imposed restrictions. For example, if the project is to make a Halloween picture, a thriver might say, "I'll draw a pumpkin and put it in the window of my Daddy's new blue car." A non-thriver, with a similar wish, might draw the blue car or simply refuse to draw at all.

The advantages of effective closed structure lie in its clarity of expectations, its opportunities for a child to experience himself as an important part of a group, and the practice provided in attending to adult input. Its hazards stem from the restrictions necessary to maintain the structure. Particularly troublesome areas for children are requirements to maintain specific body positions, limits on mobility, absence of opportunities for tactile sensory stimulation, and performance demands that may undermine self-esteem. (For example: "All right, children, sit up straight, don't wiggle, don't touch your neighbor and be ready for my question!")

In open-structure programs, choice-making by children is encouraged and a free-choice format is typical. Official transitions are infrequent since children are making individual choices. Child-initiative is evoked, such as selecting, giving orders, expressing opinions, being aggressive. Attending to adults is less frequently required. Non-thrivers tend to avoid, or cannot capitalize on, opportunities for involvement, both in focused activity and in social interaction. They also appear to avoid problem-solving and engage less often in activities that produce pleasure.

The advantages of open structure, then, lie in its ability to foster initiative and rewarding child-child relationships and in the opportunities for mobility and tactile sensory stimulation. Its hazards lie in the difficulty of maintaining focus for individual children, in providing sufficient complexity for meaningful choice, and in the tendency toward diluted adult input.

Step #2

Having determined the kinds of formats predominant in a program, next examine the nature of the materials or equipment used. A good program, whether closed or open, typically has seven or more of the following components:

1. "Play-dough" or other malleable materials
2. Sand, either a box or area
3. "Laps," teachers holding children
4. Single-sling swings
5. Grass, on which children are allowed
6. Large rug or full carpeting indoors on which children can sit
7. Water play of some type as an activity
8. Messy materials such as finger paint, clay, mud
9. Child/adult cozy furniture; rockers, couches, lawn swings, pillows
10. Dirt to dig in
11. Animals that can be held

If the program does contain at least seven of the above components, you are probably safe in assuming that the particular environments, although closed, provide opportunities for tactual sensory stimulation and permit a variety of body positions. Also, you can be assured that they provide some multiple-option play equipment in the sense of opportunities for open-ended exploring, as opposed to single-option play equipment which can be used in only one "right" way. For example, water and clay are multiple option; puzzles and lotto are single option.

Step #3

If the program is closed, look at the activity settings used and check for the following:

Teacher-directed group: (1) Are children free to do some wiggling or to back off from the group if the activity becomes too long? (2) Is performance required or optional? Performance is optional if children can volunteer to answer or can participate as a group member, as in singing or chanting the alphabet. Performance is required if the teacher asks questions of individual children—"Johnny, what color is this?"—thus exposing a child to failure if the answer is not forthcoming.

Teacher-directed individual: Look to see if a product must be produced *exactly* as the teacher requested. Expecting that a valentine is to be completed is quite different from re-

—Bill Anderson, New York

quiring that a white heart be cut out and pasted on the red heart. Also check to see if slow starters can watch before beginning and if child-to-child helping is permitted.

Thrivers usually are children whose eye-hand coordination and small muscle development have matured early. They will often find these activities enjoyable and will pursue them for long periods of time. Children who have not reached this level of maturity, however, often find them difficult demands wherein they are bound to fail and hence become non-thrivers.

Free play: Look to see if these periods permit children to initiate activities without teacher interference. The teacher typically will not be involved with children other than in casual conversation. If the period is hedged in by a series of restrictions on how one must use the swing, prohibitions on running, imaginary boundaries not to be crossed, or requirements that play be done in only one area, children are not really free to initiate. In general, free play will be less restrictive if an ample supply of props and equipment is provided to help children organize their play.

Official transitions: Look for transitions that permit leisurely conversations and some horsing around—such as a bit of water play while washing hands. Also look to see if transitions provide leeway for children who are absorbed in an activity and not ready to stop.

Step #4

If the program is open:

1. Look at the spatial arrangement.*

☐ Do the room's activity areas have boundaries to prevent intrusions and open-shelf storage that is accessible to children, well-organized and sufficiently supplied? For example, a block area protected from traffic, with storage by size, shape, etc. Does a survey of the room communicate its possibilities and expectations by its arrangement and clear display of possibilities?

☐ Does the outside area have play materials that can be combined into complex or super-units? For example, along with tricycles are there hook-on wagons, stop signs, dress-up hats? A sand pile with digging equipment and trucks? A jungle gym with a blanket and puppets?

2. Look for opportunities to develop perceptual and cognitive skills.

☐ Does the program have some closed play materials, which require attention to constraints for a correct solution, such as puzzles, geoblocks, lotto?

☐ Are books available in a cozy, comfortable spot to look at and to handle?

3. Look at how the teacher uses her time.

☐ Are there periods when she works actively with five or fewer children, responding to their questions and expanding their curiosity and interest?

☐ Does she provide a model for children in developing problem-solving and facilitating strategies?

☐ Does she actively help children with social relationships: does she clarify, interpret and facilitate?

THE CONCEPT OF DOUBLE STRUCTURING

Open-structure programs clearly encourage choice-making by children. Those that handle large amounts of choice most effectively utilize what we call double structuring: the teacher constantly clarifies both (1) by her input and (2) by providing an environment that facilitates getting-started behavior in children. In addition, good open programs regulate intrusion and focus attention by the use of insulated play areas with clear-cut boundaries.

The ambiguity characteristic of open-structure centers is in part the result of the large amount of choice. If this ambiguity is increased by the absence of adequate spatial cues, it can lead to indecision and inconsistent responses by teachers and children. Additional ambiguity is sometimes the inadvertent result of a program's efforts to improve quality by providing a more favorable adult-child ratio through use of students and volunteers. If turnover is high and orientation and supervision limited, the resultant varied assortment of adults may offer children inconsistent cues for their behavior. If both the space and the people in it increase the level of ambiguity, the outcome will be a great deal of abortive activity on the part of children.

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* For an extensive discussion of spatial arrangement, see Sybil Kritchevsky and Elizabeth Prescott with Lee Walling, *Physical Space: Planning Environments for Young Children* (Washington, D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1969).

Which "Fit" Is Best?

An inevitable question is whether open or closed structure is better for certain children. In our experience either type can cause trouble for some individuals. In a closed center a child might constantly bump against restrictions, but if moved to an open center the same child might avoid meaningful engagement.

Effectively implemented closed structure appears to offer a useful experience to children who (1) trust adults and are ready to meet task expectations, (2) do not trust adults and feel more secure with the clear expectations of teacher-directed settings, (3) tend to manipulate adults and children and need exposure to limits that are firm and relatively impersonal.

Effectively implemented open structure appears particularly useful for children who (1) need experience in dealing with other children and adults in settings where they can learn coping skills other than compliance to adult expectations, (2) are shy and need individual support for development of initiative, (3) can handle task demands but need leeway for creativity and experimentation.

IN CONCLUSION

Measures of quality arise out of the concerns of their creators. Agencies that set standards are accountable to the public for safe settings for children. Test-givers need to prove that certain kinds of learning have occurred. Parents and teachers are accountable for the well-being of individual children for whom they are responsible. All parties worry about non-thrivers.

At Pacific Oaks our concern for the match arose from watching non-thrivers. We were struck by their usefulness in pointing out the demands and shortcomings of the centers in which we observed. For example, a program's demand for limited mobility may be noticeable primarily through the non-thrivers who simply cannot handle it; but this demand is also a source of discomfort and restricting of experience for many other children in the setting. Concentrated staff attention on creating a more workable environment for its non-thrivers, we believe, will tend to increase quality for every child in the program.

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By ANNIE L. BUTLER

Will Head Start Be a *False* Start?

Annie L. Butler, assistant professor of education, Indiana University, Bloomington, maintains changes will be needed in many schools in order to continue the Head Start goals.

WHEN PROJECT HEAD START CHILD Development Centers closed their eight-week sessions during August newspapers and magazines carried articles, most of which acclaimed the success of this project enrolling almost 560,000 four- and five-year-old children in approximately 2,400 communities. Almost without exception those directly involved in Project Head Start were enthusiastic about the program and commented favorably about the progress of the children.

It is too soon to do more than speculate about the eventual contribution of the project. Whether or not the children maintain their gains as they progress through elementary school will be the crucial test. They will have had either a Head Start or a "false start," depending on what happens to these children during the next few years.

Follow-through programs, as announced by President Johnson, will enable communities to initiate health, education, social service and parent activities for these children. While these programs will be important in determining whether the children maintain a "head start," of equal if not greater importance will be each child's experiences in the regular school classroom.

It has been predicted that Head Start and other preschool education programs will result in some of the most revolutionary developments in elementary education this country has ever known. A tremendous corps of teachers has been helped to understand concepts of child development which are important in working with young children, including the deprived; further, they have had experience in planning programs for them. If we now forget about what has been learned this summer and expect Head Start children to "adjust" to existing school programs, these children will have made a "false start." If these children really are to have a head start, changes will have to be provided in the experiences provided by many schools. Whether for kindergarten, first, second, or third grade, the programs will need to emphasize some of the same goals as the Head Start program. Goals need to be adapted to the individual child; curiosity and spontaneity need to be encouraged; emphasis should be placed on self-discipline; a positive self-concept should be encouraged; the world of things needs to be exploited in developing intellectual concepts; and language development and the creative expression of ideas should continue to be emphasized.

Program To Fit Child

Drop-out statistics and records of school failure provide evidence that the educationally deprived child does not do well in the regular elementary school program. Frequently program goals are unrealistic for him because he does not have the needed background to profit from the experiences offered. For a long time we have said that each child is different and will learn different things at different times; hence the program must be adjusted to the child in every possible way. Of necessity the child must make many adjustments to any group situation; but such adjustments must not be complicated by rigid goals which would demand the same, or nearly the same, achievement from all children. Head Start children entering first grade will be well ahead of where they would have been without the experience, but some still will not be ready to read when they enter school. A few may not be ready to read for quite a long time. Unless teachers are creative in studying these children and designing situations in which they can continue to build needed background, the familiar pattern of failure may still persist.

Healthy Self-Concept

Closely related to adaptation of goals to the individual child is the development of a positive self-concept. Deprived children often feel uncertain about who they are, what they look like and how they fit into their world. Mirrors have been widely used in Child Development Centers to help a child discover what he looks like. Many children have also drawn life-sized images of themselves. Just as these have helped the child to discover his physical likeness, the preponderance of success experiences provided have helped him feel good about his intellectual abilities. A real conflict will exist for those kindergarten and primary teachers torn between helping children achieve success and meeting an expectation to teach them skills and concepts beyond their level of comprehension. *For those children not yet highly motivated toward an academic program, the preservation of a positive self-concept is more important than the specifics learned.* These children must be successful even if it means continuing some nursery school activities into the kindergarten and some kindergarten activities into the first grade.

Many of the children attending Head Start Child Development Centers had not had dolls, trucks and other toys to play with; they had not eaten many common fruits and vegetables; they had not held a pencil or a book; they had not had pets to care for and play with; and some had not seen an indoor toilet. A surprisingly large number of these gaps have been filled, but in many areas the level of experience remains limited. Still needed are additional experiences to bring children into contact with musical instruments, art materials, simple scientific phenomena, numerical concepts, nature study, modes of transportation and communication, pets, books, and adults of varied backgrounds and abilities. Trips have been taken to surrounding neighborhoods and nearby farms, parks, lakes and places of business; but still more are needed. These children, some more than others, will greatly need teachers who respond to their interests and questions and plan new experiences to supply the answers. In subsequent years the children will be more active participants in the planning, express their observations in more fluent and precise language, gain more information through their own reading skills and record their observations in chart or story form; but they will still need actual experiences to supply the basis for their cognitive learning.

Continuing Oral Language

One of the most obvious characteristics of educationally deprived children is their poor language ability. Children in kindergarten should continue to have many opportunities to use language spontaneously like those which occur when they are participating in dramatic play with housekeeping materials and blocks, when engaging freely in outdoor play or when sharing a special secret with the teacher. They should be read to, talked to, and subtly encouraged to talk about toys, events, books or pictures. Time spent in group discussions should be quite limited until children are able to express themselves well enough to hold the attention of the other children.

Children, at whatever age, are stimulated to talk when they feel they have something important to talk about. Continuing firsthand experiences and trips throughout school years is as important to language development as it is to cognitive development. The teacher should continue to ascertain whether children have something they consider important enough to talk about and whether they have the freedom to talk. It is inconsistent to encourage language development while trying to keep children quiet most of the day. Once fluency of expression has been developed, however, children can be helped to accept the limits necessary for such activities as group discussions and planning sessions.

Responsible for Own Action

From nursery school through elementary school the child should become increasingly competent in directing his own behavior and in settling difficulties. The teacher who maintains strict limits and insists on conformity may appear to succeed in helping a child achieve this competency. However, if a teacher emphasizes self-discipline a child must have more freedom. Some limits are necessary and should be consistently enforced, but beyond the limitations a child must have opportunities to make as many choices as possible. Although he must understand acceptable uses of equipment and materials, "acceptable" must be defined broadly enough to encourage trying out unique ways of using materials and solving problems. Although destructive behavior cannot be permitted, the child must be able to feel that the teacher is able to identify herself with the way he feels and will not reject him for a misbehavior. Even four-year-olds can make some kinds of decisions and use many materials independently when they are accessible and easily put back in place. The teachers' techniques should help the child feel responsible while supplying the help he needs to be responsible for his behavior.

Encouraging curiosity and spontaneity automatically assumes providing a reasonable amount of freedom in the classroom. The child cannot be expected to "follow directions," "fill in blanks" and "sit quietly" most of the day and then turn on his curiosity much as one turns on a light. Touching, smelling, looking and squeezing along with all the "oh-ing" and "ah-ing" will be an important part of learning for a long time beyond five or six. There must be encouragement for exploration and interaction between the children. Guidance by the teacher is needed, but domination must be avoided.

Individualizing Instruction

Teachers throughout the summer have commented on the short attention span of the children for activities involving the total group. Some have commented that the children's uninterrupted attention for stories read to the total group was difficult to achieve; consequently they experimented with using volunteers to read to four or five children at a time. The implications in summer experiences would seem to be that during the early school years total group activities should be kept to a minimum and that all group activities requiring quiet concentration should be of short duration and well interspersed with activities which involve children more actively. It is of greatest importance that educationally deprived children, or any children, not be in constant conflict with teachers because of their classroom behavior. Some of the literature on individualized and small group instruction procedures could be useful to those helping Head Start children to maintain their gains.

Longer Time Needed for Development

In encouraging creativity school programs should proceed a step ahead of Head Start programs, which have provided a good atmosphere for stimulating creativity through materials such as transportation toys, blocks, art materials, musical instruments and carpentry materials as well as through such experiences as trips to airports and visits to the school by resource people of the community. Children's play tended to be more realistic than creative. Play was also individual rather than in groups with different children assuming different roles. Children manipulated a variety of art materials, but many were not ready for symbolic or representational use of paint or clay. All the children sang songs but relatively few experienced the thrill of making up their own. A few did not learn to enjoy listening to stories and many of the children did not tell a story of their own or make a "book."

More time is needed. Factors in the background of educationally deprived children which work against creativity are many and they may be slow to respond to the teacher's most encouraging techniques, but the implications for kindergarten and primary teachers are clear. In their hands may be the key to gaining the recognition which will help these children like school and want to learn.

As children who have attended Project Head Start Child Development Centers enter school this fall, an unprecedented challenge is presented to the elementary school. If schools meet the challenge this year and in the years to come millions of children will have a Head Start. If the schools do not rise to the challenge, equally large numbers of children may have a "false start." In his greeting to Project Head Start consultants at a recent conference, Vice-President Hubert Humphrey said: "Project Head Start will change the teaching habits of the country." If this happens many children will indeed get a "Head Start."

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NATURE WOULD HAVE THEM CHILDREN BEFORE THEY ARE MEN. IF WE TRY TO invert this order we shall produce a forced fruit, immature and flawless, fruit which will be rotten before it is ripe; we shall have young doctors and old children. Childhood has its own ways of seeing, thinking, feeling . . . . JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU, in *Emile*.

Here is support for legislative proposals to achieve appropriate quality education for young children—moving far beyond a mere watering-down of a primary academic curriculum for preschoolers.

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Public Education for Four-Year-Olds: "To Be or Not To Be"

MADELINE HUNTER

"To be or not to be?" is the current question with regard to provision of public education for children below the age of five. Reactions to that question range from evangelical zeal (*It will save the world*) to complete rejection (*We're destroying motherhood*). Neither extreme is a tenable position. Research in the field of early childhood education has revealed that a promising area for investigation has been identified, but an unqualified "yes" or "no" at this point would be premature. We should assume a posture of thoughtful consideration as we explore the issues.

First, let's examine a few facts—not what *might* occur if we endorse earlier public education, but what *already exists.*

☐ Analysis over the last twenty-five years by Bronfenbrenner and Condry (1970) reveals a decrease in all spheres of interaction between parents and children in Europe and America. In the last ten years children have shown more and more dependence on their peers. This dependency is even greater with children who have only one parent.

☐ Parents increasingly feel that they are a powerless force in their children's lives, yet parents care as much for their offspring and are as worried about them as before (Bronfenbrenner, 1958).

☐ The typical preschooler spends an average of twenty-two hours per week in front of TV (Liebman). This percentage is higher in poverty groups where parents cannot afford other activities and in areas where children cannot go outdoors to play. Turning on TV turns off the process of interaction with other people, which children need to become "human."

As of now, in early 1973, the United States has five million children under age six whose mothers hold jobs (Metropolitan). Many additional mothers work part-time or are members of our much needed volunteer forces. These mothers feel that by involving themselves in part-time or volunteer activities outside the home they become more fully developed, effective human beings. Quality day care must be provided for the children of these millions of working mothers, yet only 700,000 spaces in licensed group care centers are currently available.

No matter how lamentable we may perceive the above facts to be, there is no question that day care of children is coming to America. The only question is, "What kind?"

Goodlad (in press), in a study of 201 preschool programs in nine cities, found little relationship between professed goals for early childhood and actualities of the school programs. Major deficits occurred in the important areas of cognitive development and motor development. The people in charge simply did not have essential information currently available, and consequently could not incorporate that information in a productive program. Not surprisingly, Goodlad found no relationship between program and fees. Usually the higher the fee, the less was the parent involvement.

CRITERIA FOR A QUALITY EARLY EDUCATION PROGRAM

What are criteria for a productive, healthful school environment for the young child? This environment, in which he would spend only 5 to 10 percent of his year, obviously must augment, not supplant, his family life. Just as modern society has learned to augment mother's milk in order to increase the nutritional foundation of good health, an early childhood program can provide additional "educational nutrients." The following five elements are proposed as essential ingredients of such a program:

Participation of parents as goal-setters and as learners. Parents must be involved in setting program-goals and also in learning to assist in achieving them. Accompanying this charge is responsibility for learning and practicing those skills of parenting that can help a child achieve these goals in the out-of-school as well as in-school environment. Thousands of parents who daily face the difficult task of childrearing are hungry for ways of doing it better. A program must be developed to satisfy their hunger and enable them to become powerful members of the home-school team.

Balance in program-design. A desirable preschool program provides educational opportunities for all facets of a child's growth: emotional, social, intellectual and physical. Any program that majors in only one or two of these vital areas has the possibility of arresting growth (if not actually crippling it) in the others. So generic to everyday life activities is ***interdigitation*** of all these areas that no one area can be neglected in the naive assumption that it will be developed elsewhere. A balanced program must also, with a minimal time lag, continually incorporate new research findings about human development.

A professional staff. Another essential component of quality early childhood education is omnipresent monitoring and guidance by a highly competent as well as dedicated professional. While this skilled guidance should be augmented by *trained* paraprofessionals and volunteers, such auxiliary personnel cannot replace the professional who must assume responsibility for making complex educational decisions. A differentiated staff of professionals and paraprofessionals can become the prototype for making more efficient, economic and far-reaching the influence of the gifted teacher. Such a constellation of adult resources clearly demonstrates the inefficiency of the typical school's utilization of one professional to a classroom, especially when the competency of that person can range from undisputed artistry to barely meeting requirements for certification.

Constant evaluation and monitoring. Early childhood programs and their objectives must be subject to continual monitoring and periodic audit. Accountability for achieving desirable results is one hallmark of a good school. Formative evaluation for program improvement and substantive evaluation for program certification should become integral parts of the ongoing program. When goals are made explicit and objectives for learners are described in terms of measurable behavior, accountability and evaluative responsibility can become constants in an early childhood program.

Fiscal responsibility. Unlike the situation with private schools, where often (clearly and appropriately) the objective is to make money for someone, public support of early childhood education can insure that money be maximally deployed to economically and efficiently further the goals for which it has been allocated. Incorporating four-year-olds into a public school system could provide unique opportunity to design a program systematically rather than to have one "grow like Topsy," as seems to have been the history of the rest of public schooling. To spend money wisely, rather than to make money or to save money, is the foundation for fiscal responsibility in education. While quality education is never inexpensive, investment in early years should return a tremendous dividend in terms of prevention, rather than costly remediation.

In summary, to qualify for societal endorsement schooling for early childhood should augment, not supplant, the family; incorporate participatory goal-setting and learning on the part of parents; provide a program that emphasizes all facets of children's growth; be subject to constant monitoring; and return the greatest educational dividend for the money expended.

JUSTIFICATION FOR EARLY PUBLIC EDUCATION

No informed person is disputing the advantages of preschool education for the child handicapped by poverty or by physical, emotional or social disability. What about the child who has a mother at home, has parents who are comfortable with the parenting role and competent in childrearing practices, has brothers and sisters with whom he can interact and a neighborhood that supplies stimulation by and interaction with others? (How many children with all of this in their environment do you know!) Should such a healthful, nurturing and therapeutic environment be augmented by schooling?

The answer seems to be a "Yes!"—for it is impossible for any home environment to meet the full potential of:

☐ *Social interaction.* Neighborhood and family friends usually are of one kind, presenting few opportunities for a child to encounter major human diversity. Stimulation by others in a neighborhood rarely can reach the level of a group of children that is deliberately composed to provide a rich social environment. Incidentally, the private nursery school with its financial requirements has the same limitations as the neighborhood.

School can and should become a real world where the young learner is able to move from the territorial autocracy of "my house and yard" or from the tenuous existence of "your guest" to occupy responsible citizenship in "our place," which is the most pervasive environmental press of "our world" today, and one in which all must learn to function.

In a school environment a child can have opportunity to learn that common resources are available to all—resources he must conserve and require others to care for in order to protect future availability to him as well as to others. Learning this principle at an early age is critical to the survival of mankind.

☐ *Materials.* No home can provide the richness of materials that should be available in a school. Nor do most homes provide the space and opportunity to explore materials that develop competence and artistry in their use. These are primary functions of a responsive school environment.

☐ *Skilled adults.* No matter how willing and able the adults in a home may be (even if the mother is a skilled teacher), rare indeed is the parent who can devote full time and attention to the education of her young child. This condition is as it should be, for a child must learn that the significant others in his life have responsibilities, of which he may be the most important but not the only one.

In school a young learner has the assistance of highly skilled professionals (not just willing "warm, fuzzy" volunteers or assistants) who are devoting full time to his development and growth. Teachers are constantly available to assist *with*, but insist *on*, his learning. Knowledge has advanced so greatly in the last few years in both the science and the art of teaching that predictably successful learning can become a highly probable goal.

☐ *Real responsibilities.* We often hear of the inutility of childhood in an American society where needed chores no longer exist but are fabricated to "teach responsibility" from activities that adults could do better, and more easily and conveniently. At school, where the environment is his, the younger learner can take on real needs that are rightly his to assume and can be held responsible for jobs where he experiences the consequences of their not getting done. At school he also can have practice necessary to develop his ability to cope with a difficult situation where he has both assistance in and insistence on his doing so.

Consequently, even with an advantaged child, we must conclude that school experience is a needed extension and enrichment of a child's home and neighborhood experience, rather than a substitute for it. Together those two environments strengthen him more than either one could alone.

WHAT CAN EARLY PUBLIC EDUCATION FOR FOUR-YEAR-OLDS ACCOMPLISH?

☐ In a rich educational environment, the four-year-old can increase his awareness of who he is and what he can become. Through observing and working and playing with others not members of his immediate family, he further develops his abilities and his identity. With professional adult and peer interaction, he can acquire new skills as well as interests different from those typical to his household. There, he also can learn the meaning of cooperation, tolerance and compassion, as well as learn to insist on his own right to these behaviors from others. With such interaction, the probability increases for such outcomes as positive mental health, a wholesome realistic self-concept, and productive human relations.

☐ The young learner can be helped to develop the intellectual precision and artistry our society demands. He can sharpen his perceptions from every sensory mode. He can become a member of a group engaged in thoughtful discussion of a real problem where he can learn to listen so he hears accurately. He also can learn to think and speak coherently so what he says is what he means.

☐ In this educative environment, many health and nutrition problems can be intercepted and/or prevented. A nation can "get at" these problems before they become irreversible or incapacitating. Physical resilience, robustness and productivity become goals that are more systematically and predictably achieved. A child's body image and his movement skills, which are just now emerging from research as being critically important, can be developed and extended.

☐ While working on the development of all facets of his potential, the young learner can have assistance in getting ready for more demanding academic learning. He can develop facility in language, agility and discrimination in hearing, deliberation in attending, power in focus—develop "learning muscles" that will be capable of carrying his "learning loads" throughout life. In short, he can *learn how to learn*. Most youngsters can come to master any basic school tasks if they are not allowed to fail as they begin.

☐ An early childhood program can also help children be more effective producers and consumers of the arts. Convergent and divergent responses, conforming and creative behavior, all are essential for the fully satisfying productive life. Traditional academic expectations, however, have become associated with existing elementary school programs and prioritized in them. By the time these skills are developed, the affective areas may have become barren and those more delicate and sensitive responses can become stunted or atrophied.

☐ *Parents*, working with the schools, can develop increased skills in parenting, can heighten the probability that their child will grow and develop as they would wish; can get immediate help should a problem occur, thereby avoiding the much more costly later remediation; can see how their child is developing in relation *to* others and in his relationships *with* others.

☐ *Taxpayers*, who eventually must pay the bill when things go wrong, will get thereby a greater return on their investment of preventive and developmental dollars than ever can be realized by remedial dollars.

Bloom (1964), in his monumental reporting of research related to stability and change in human characteristics, left no doubt as to the criticality of influence during the early years. Early schooling can be a powerful intervention. Like all powerful variables, it has potential for good or evil. If it were used to eliminate the interaction of the family to choke reading and writing down the educational throats of unready toddlers, no one would dispute its undesirability. But because of its potential for harm, let us not overlook its potential for breaking the chain of ignorance and incapacity, regardless of the source—poverty or affluence, underattention or overconcern—and for freeing children to achieve a full and productive life. Early public education has the potential for preventing rather than remediating, for enabling a child to become a more fully developed self as an individual and as a citizen of the nation. *That is, providing we don't just hope for, but see to it that an environment is provided that will be staffed by competent professionals who are not merely exposing children to prereading and math, but are helping children develop in all aspects of intellectual, physical, social and emotional growth.*

An early childhood program also has potential for reinvolving and strengthening the family as the primary agent in making human beings human. With such potential available, how can we afford not to develop it and find out what really is possible for America's youth?

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Statistic from Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

Friedrich Froebel 1782-1982

A Reexamination of Froebel's Principles of Childhood Learning

Molly Kayes Ransbury

THE BICENTENARY of the birth of Friedrich August Wilhelm Froebel, noted German philosopher, educator and founder of the kindergarten, is commemorated this year. Born in Oberweissbach, Germany on April 21, 1782, the sixth child of a village pastor, he was surrounded early on by sylvan peace and beauty. Froebel developed a boyhood interest in observing, browsing and learning about nature which became the cornerstone of his lifelong intellectual interests.

Gradually, Froebel's "Unity of Life" philosophy emerged, an outgrowth of his academic program. Froebel hypothesized that everything functions in relationship to God, the total unity. Yet each person has a specific purpose which exists in the here-and-now and which needs to be fulfilled. Applying this philosophy to his vocation of teaching children, Froebel said: "The chief end of education should be to bring the human soul to a consciousness of oneness with the Divine Source of all things"(Wiggin and Smith, 1895).

Froebel asserted that every child was unique and believed that children could best develop their uniqueness through action. He held that all phases of the personality develop through action, asserting that in childhood this action is called "play." Therefore, Froebel claimed that play should be considered the appropriate basis for all childhood education and established kindergarten as the child's bridge between home play and school life.

The kindergarten became the place where children learned about the order in nature through play. Froebel designed games, tasks and problems for the children to engage in so that they might recognize this order in themselves and the world. He presented children with an idea and then left them to their own solution-oriented "play." In the kindergarten, all play directed the children toward thought. Froebel insisted that even young children could begin to unify the interactions between: life and self-activity, thought and action, representation and cognition, and ability and

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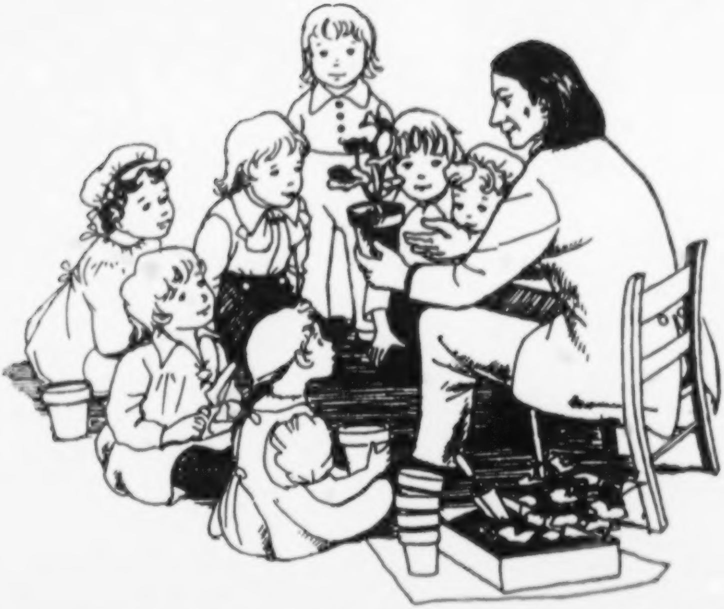

Illustration from *Dauntless Women in Childhood Education 1856-1931*, by Agnes Snyder. Washington, DC: Association for Childhood Education International, 1972.

understanding. Froebel's educational plan was therefore based on self-activity and self-representation.

As Froebel watched children at play, he saw the need for certain types of play-tools which he called "gifts" and "occupations." Froebel did not, however, invent the play-tools; he borrowed them from nature and encouraged children to master the material world by becoming familiar with the fundamental properties of matter through play. Froebel enumerated these properties as contrasts between rough and smooth textures, bright and soft colors, fixed and transformable shapes, near and far points, long and short lines, large and small forms, and curved and flat surfaces.

The kindergarten "gifts" are the play-tools for exploring the aforementioned properties. The gifts are the geometric shapes that underlie all forms of creation: sphere, cube, cylinder, square, triangle, circle and line. Froebel believed these play-tools would aid the child in rationally organizing the world and said they would " . . . lead the young heart, through discerning the organized nature of form, to feel that underneath all forms lay one form, that one law governed all creation, that all were but varying expressions or utterances of one mind"(Bailey and Lewis, 1904).

Froebel also designed a sequence of activities, called "occupations," which should be performed for each gift. The occupations include the mode of presenting the gift, the exploration of life-form properties inherent in the gift, and the discovery of the forms of beauty within the gift.

During the presentation, the child would learn how to handle the gift, how to place it appropriately on the specially lined Froebel table, and how to use the many facets of the gift. Oftentimes during presentation, Froebel would also teach the child a verse to accompany the gift. For example, the First Gift consists of six yarn balls, each on its own red, yellow, blue, green, orange or purple string. The presentation verse follows (Blow, 1902):

The Bird Song

Way up in the sky (toss balls up and catch)
The little birds fly. (flap arms and balls)
While down in their nests, (cup balls in hands)
The little birds rest. (fold hands against cheek in sleeping gesture)
With a wing on their left (fling left arm and ball to left)
And a wing on their right, (fling right arm and ball to right)
The little birds sleep (sleeping gesture, balls cupped in hand)
All through the night.
Shhh! You might wake up the birds! (finger to lips)
The big sun comes up (arms circled overhead)
The dew falls away (arms flutter downward)
"Good Morning! Good Morning!" the little birds say. (flap arms)

Following the presentation stage, the child enters the "forms of life" phase. The child then constructs a three-dimensional familiar object using all the pieces of each gift and is later encouraged to name the gifts' properties. The First Gift, the six yarn balls, encourages the child to touch, roll, play and compare it with other objects, such as similar balls of sand or clay. When naming the properties of the yarn balls, the child might include roundness, colors, motion, direction, position, relationship to rubber or wood balls, and differences between round and other shaped objects. Finally, the child arranges the gift into pleasing patterns called "forms of beauty," such as fruit or mountain arrangements. The possibilities for creativity are endless.

Through Froebel's gifts and occupations, plays and games, and verses, the young child ascends from the world of nature to the world of humanity, from the world of things to the world of self-activity. One sees the obvious links between the Froebel model and the modern-day cognitively oriented curriculum that focuses on rational thought and developmental tasks. One wonders, then, why Froebel is not still used in the modern kindergarten. Actually, his gifts are still there, but the occupations have been discarded. We still see the blocks for building, the clay for modeling, the sticks for counting, the cards for drawing, the paper for folding, the cards for embroidery, and the frames for weaving. What we do not see is the careful attention to the occupation; i.e., the mode of presentation and explication of form and beauty. Froebel, however, was meticulous about sequence and order of presentation. The way an object was demonstrated and discussed was as important as the object itself. Froebel even formulated guidelines for the occupations.

Froebel's genius applies to today's concern with cognitive development. As a long-time colleague said of him: "Here was a man who labored ceaselessly and never knew a selfish aim, who read the secrets of human nature in the child that he might train a more perfect child . . . ; the man was too much advanced of his time to be recognized as great while he lived. . . ." (Lilley, 1967). Two hundred years after his death, Froebel's greatness remains, his contributions still valuable to children.

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What are central characteristics of schooling specifically designed to produce "a better material and interpersonal environment in the future"? This counsel comes from a former Chairman of CHILDHOOD EDUCATION'*s Editorial Board, one of the great social educators of our time.*

Alice Miel more recently served as Co-chairman of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development's World Conference on Education, held in March of 1970 at Asitomar, California. She retires this spring from her longtime post as Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City—and will soon be off to new challenges as a consultant in Afghanistan.

The World House: Building a Qualitative Environment for All the World's Children

Alice Miel

WE HAVE MANY WAYS of referring to the green planet that looked so beautiful to the astronauts returning from the barren moon. Lillian Smith wrote of the earth as a *common ground for children.* Barbara Ward has spoken of it as a *spaceship* on which all of us are passengers whose fates are interwoven. Marshall McLuhan has called our planet a *global village,* for modern communication makes it possible for people to see and hear almost on the instant what their fellow villagers on the other side of the world are engaged in.

Martin Luther King, Jr., is credited with the expression *world house,* which has been selected as the theme of this issue. What might this insightful American have had in mind in choosing such a metaphor? Was he thinking of an earthly house in which there are many people, all seeking shelter, sustenance and love but in which only a few fortunate inhabitants manage to find all three of those basic necessities of life? Was he thinking, perhaps, that the World House might be a dwelling place where the entire Family of Man might live a life befitting the dignity and potential of human beings? Both the words and actions of Martin Luther King, Jr., showed that he believed in working for such a World House. He surely had a deep desire for an environment of that quality for all the world's children.

Readers of CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, as people who also care about children, cannot fail to be concerned with the present state of the World House, for it is becoming increasingly crowded and is deteriorating at a distressing rate. Furthermore, it is badly managed; some have more space, more food, more stimulation and more luxuries than they need, while others live under debilitating and often stressful conditions, having too little space, an inadequate diet and monotonous surroundings. Such differences exist both within nations and between nations and whole regions of the world.

Those engaged in the schooling of children share with other citizens a responsibility for using their insights and talents to bring about improvement in the quality of the environment for the benefit of all. Beyond that, as "school people," they have a responsibility through educative means for helping others to develop intelligent *concern* for the future of this planet and to build the *skills* of information-processing, cooperative problem-solving, and joint action that will be needed if the World House is to continue to be habitable—more than that, become a place where all dwellers may live together with more comfort, more dignity and more affection than they now enjoy.

Schooling pointed toward achievement and maintenance of a physical environment of high quality and toward a sharing of that environment in life-enhancing ways will exhibit characteristics all too rare in any nation at present.

☐ The first characteristic will be that those in charge of schooling will make deliberate use of the realities of the school as an institution to teach valuable social lessons. The other face of this coin is that they will be quick to note and correct the undesirable consequences of such institutional necessities as maintaining order, sharing scarce "goods," and evaluating the worth of activities and achievements, which Philip Jackson and Jules Henry, among others, have illuminated so concretely. School experiences need not convince numbers of children that their ideas, their time, their language, and their desires have little value. The actuality of a group of children brought together from many different families to pursue schooling with one or more adults, always with too little (materials, space, time and attention of the teacher) to go around, can be used in many ways to enhance the children's education.

In a group situation children can practice individual decision-making (e.g., "What is the best use of my time right now?" "Do I really need help and if so can someone beside the teacher give it to me?" "Is this piece the best I can and want to produce for the present?"). They can practice group problem-solving (e.g., "How can we avoid collisions and quarrels caused by scarcity?" "How can we fit in some of the different things we want to do?"). In a group situation children can experience the combination of sympathy and a desire to help known as compassion and can cultivate civil responses to others (e.g., "Why was Roger so disappointed? How can his disappointment be lessened now or in the future?"). Such accomplishments and many more can result from a school that creates opportunities for children to operate in small societies scaled to their age and requirements, which they are invited to help manage.

☐ A second characteristic of a school intent on providing an environment of high quality will be provision of opportunities to learn how to play and to learn through play. Such schooling will give generous support in time, resources and freedom so that the children may experience the joy of creating newness out of raw materials and ideas. Thus they may come to value such opportunities for others. They also will be likely to value the beauty produced by themselves or others. Those who value creativity and beauty probably will want to work against destruction and ugliness in the world.

☐ A third characteristic of schooling devoted to building a qualitative environment for all the world's children will be that a generous portion of time is devoted to developing understanding, at the children's level, of problems that the local community, the nation and/or the world is facing at the time. As far as possible the study of such problems will be carried to the point where the children can take some alleviating action, however simple. The purpose of this curricular feature is 1) to help children become concerned about conditions that need correction, 2) to learn how to inform themselves on problems too fresh and also too complicated to be dissected and neatly answered in a textbook, and 3) to extend skills of deciding and acting with a group.

Concrete problems to be attacked in such a way will be found in such areas as transition to a peacetime economy, overcoming societal drives toward compulsive consumption, abuse of the natural environment, and racism and other social injustices.

☐ A fourth characteristic of schooling for a better material and interpersonal environment in the future is involvement of children with adults in the community. Involvement with adults outside the family circle is one of the features built into any kind of schooling, good or bad. However, school experiences may be planned so that children will be able to learn through observing, identifying with, and working alongside of adult models who have something worthwhile—values, information and skills—to give to children. This effect will be heightened if adults outside the school staff (parents and others pursuing lines of work and service in the community) participate with children at different points in their study of community problems. Direct benefits to both children and adults will be experiencing the evaluation and use of various kinds of experts, seeing the importance of putting knowledge to work to serve people, experiencing and examining the phenomenon of group power as successes and failures are assessed, and having opportunities to increase understanding and respect across generations.

☐ A fifth characteristic of schools for a better future for mankind is that opportunities to engage with others in firsthand contacts such as those just described will be complemented by use of substitute experiences that have depth and reality. Moving from a base of direct observation and collaboration, children can extend their life space through literature, the arts and the social sciences. The social disciplines can be used as sources of factual information about other people in the world and of explanations of why they differ from other groups in some attractive and useful ways as well as in some less productive ways. Literature and the arts can bring children to a better understanding of themselves as they get new insight into the problems and feelings of others. A first step is to become aware of a new individual or group. The desired progression in feelings from that point on is toward compassion and love for a fellow human being.

If all nations of the world were to attempt to build into their schools the five features proposed here, all the world's children and the adults around them would more speedily find themselves living in a human environment of high quality. The fact that such changes in schools will be long in coming on a global scale need not be used by readers of this journal as an excuse for inaction. There is work to be done in the school closest to each of us. That is the place to begin and the articles that follow show some of the steps we may take.

Do we really value curious minds? Why then is "tuning out of learning in the school style appearing as early as first grade in different kinds of communities?"

This piercing analysis of learning disaffection is by Dorothy H. Cohen, member of the Senior Faculty, Graduate Programs, Bank Street College of Education, New York City.

This Day's Child in School

Dorothy Cohen

Who is today's child? Is there a composite creature who shares a common growth pattern, a common cultural experience, and a common set of values that allow us to talk about the child today in a special way? I suspect that there is and there is not.

No more than a generation ago it was possible for teachers to say with a sense of comfort and control that middle-class children entered school with values the school supported and reinforced. Therefore, middle-class children did not have, and were not expected to have, difficulties at school that could be attributed to a group phenomenon such as wholesale unreadiness because of cultural difference. If Alicia was not able to listen and learn, it was because she had not worked out the confusion over her adoption; if Chris had trouble reading, it was because of the conflict between his loyalty to his semi-literate housekeeper and his educated working mother. But middle-class children were expected to learn, and learn they did for the most part. The exceptions only proved the rule.

Then came the great revelation about children of poverty. They had, in fact, never done as well in school as the middle-class children; but at last the reasons were clear and strongly stated. "They do not have the same values as the school; they are disoriented in the school culture; their families do not give them the kind of background that helps at school. Therefore, we must involve their parents and help them help their children." Many poverty parents protested, but so it was said and argued, and there it was left.

Who is this day's child? Is it the middle-class children who, although still holding their own to a great extent, are developing a syndrome new for them—learning disability and/or learning disaffection? Or is it the poverty children, who have not responded en masse to the enticements to do well at school, although a higher percentage of them are entering college than ever before? In communities all over the nation, middle-class children and poverty children are both getting remediation, and both are dropping out of school. Tuning out of learning in the school style is appearing as early as first grade in different kinds of communities.

So perhaps we have a new phenomenon. Today's children do not divide neatly into middle-class successes and lower-class failures. Problems of learning and growth are cutting across class lines. This change may be explained away as better diagnosis, and maybe it is. But I would like to suggest other possible answers.

SOME HYPOTHESES

Physiology and Nonlearning

Speculation about the causes of nonlearning covers a wide range of possibilities. For example, evidence from the work of Pasamanick and Knobloch suggests that conditions during a mother's pregnancy may affect a child's reading ability later on. Some neurologists suspect that children delivered by induced labor run a higher risk of learning disability than those born spontaneously. And recent research on the effect of megavitamins in schizophrenia, and effect of food coloring on hyperactive children, opens up fresh concern about the ultimate effects of the endless array of chemicals on children's bodies and minds, from the food fertilized and sprayed by chemicals to the additives that keep food from spoiling on the shelves, to the many substitutes for natural food they are encouraged to try.

War and Nonlearning

Still another and very different possible cause for children's nonlearning was projected by Sybille Escalona in a paper addressed to the New York Society of Clinical Psychologists in October 1970. Her hypothesis was that the increase in learning problems was due to the impact of the Indo-China War, which had greatly intensified the usual gap between what children learn early in life and what proves to be true in the world at large, to a point where everything seemed senseless. Normally, children should be able to cope with the anxiety engendered by conflict, perceive alternatives, and master their anxiety. But many children could not put a world together in a way that would make sense, and so they could not see a reason for learning.

The Impact of Technology

Still other people, myself included, have addressed themselves to the impact of technology on the sense of self as a coping person, and to the effect of a television committed to consumerism, novelty, sensationalism and impulse gratification. Together, technology and its handmaiden, television, have made children believe more in magic than in the value of their own efforts. And there are others still, who speak with absolute justification of the increase in separation and divorce that leave children feeling at the very least confused about where and to whom they belong and, in a great many instances, angry at what they see as betrayal.

Other Sociological Explanations

So you see, many interpretations are available for what is happening to today's children; and all or none may be right. But on one thing there does seem to be agreement. The world of childhood is not quite the old familiar childhood, and school people are puzzled. We find children who do not play, children who run about aimlessly in the face of attractive toys, children who know a lot but are not happy, and children who are capable of learning but don't care to.

Yet, if we think about it, how could children remain unaffected by the vast changes in society since World War II? Tension, anxiety and confusion are so rampant that many are uncertain about how to parent. There has been a decrease in all spheres of interaction between adults and children, including that between parents and children. The vacuum left by fewer adult-child relationships of any meaning has been filled by age-segregated peer groups.

Most children today have no chance to see the life cycle, its sequence and development, among people. There is no sense of continuity, no faith in growth and organic change. The climate of uncertainty about the future is very real. There is the knowledge that the world can be blown up; there is the endless breakdown of that in which one could place trust. For example, one cannot trust nature: it is polluted and threateningly limited in resources. One cannot trust science as a solver of problems; we have learned that it cannot always work miracles without unexpected and even tragic consequences. The faith in democracy has been tainted with the knowledge of its vulnerability to corruption in the service of ambition. The freshness of childhood is fast disappearing under the impact of unreasonable demands and pressures for performance beyond children's capacity. This is the climate of instability in which children grow and in which adults try to make choices about what shall go on in children's schools.

Philosophic Conflicts

We childhood educators who represent a humanist position that has long roots in our past, as exemplified in the stirring stories told in *Dauntless Women,** are fighting it out today with another approach, one that relies on technical answers because it believes unswervingly that technology has improved our lives and can continue to do so. The polarized positions are not new, but they are exacerbated in our time. When Agnes Snyder was researching material for *Dauntless Women*, she described antecedents for today's polarization in a personal letter:

> In the 1870s, Susan Blow and others wanted to keep kindergarten separate from the grades because of the fear that instead of having the kindergarten influence spread upward, the kindergarten would be made preparatory for the grades . . . Later, in the first decades of the century, a bitter controversy raged for years in the International Kindergarten Union over a similar conflict in views. The Froebelians insisted that play in the kindergarten must be structured and that "free play" should be confined to home and playground. Those under the influence of the new indigenous psychology and philosophy discussed play as child-development-oriented educators do today.

LEARNING TO BE ROBOTS

But while the "child-development-oriented educators" are still strong, we are losing ground. After one hundred years of freedom from pressure, and at the very moment when the elementary school looks hungrily to concepts of flexibility and openness at long last, young children are being denied their rights to grow as human beings. They are being forced to sit quietly for hours learning their shapes, their phonics, and their letters at ages five, four and even three. It is not accidental that more than one kindergarten teacher, protesting the inundation of her classroom with increasing amounts of instructional materials that leave her with less and less contact with the children, says bitterly, "They're being turned into robots."

Mechanical Learning

Today's young children are in danger. They are on the one hand threatened by loss of feeling and imagination. On the other, they are being drawn early into imitative, mechanical, robot-like right answers that interfere with independent thinking. Let me give some examples of what I mean.

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* Agnes Snyder. *Dauntless Women in Childhood Education* 1856–1931. Washington, D.C.: Association for Childhood Education International, 1972.

First is the story of Susan, a little four-year-old in a middle-class nursery school. When I first saw Susan, she appeared to be weighing some potatoes. However, neither the weight, texture, nor shape of the potatoes had any meaning—in fact, nothing about the *potatoes* had meaning—but the numbers that would fit on the scale were what counted. Her teacher told me in a tone of awe that Susan had come to nursery school at three able to read. That did make her interesting, so I watched her more closely. She imitated other children but did not relate to them. She drew an unbelievably immature picture of circular scribbles, and she clung to the teacher. She never smiled. She was sober-faced and showed no expression of feeling.

On another day that I visited the nursery school, I again took pains to watch Susan. During the brief rest period, while others played with toys on their mats, Susan read books. When the children got up and went to the blocks, housekeeping corner or games, Susan chose a box of small design cubes and sat down on the floor to build. She laid evenly spaced cubes out in a row, and then covered the spaces between cubes with a second row of cubes, those spaces with a third, and so on.

"See my pyramid?" she challenged me. "I'll make it bigger!" Deftly and quickly she extended the bottom row and built the whole structure higher. She worked with speed and intensity, and again asked if I realized that she had made a pyramid and how big it was. For the first time her voice had an edge of excitement.

I duly admired the work and then took some cubes from the box and enclosed a small space on the floor. "*I* made a room," I said to her, hoping to draw her into some play. "*That's a rectangle,*" she replied firmly brushing me off. "I'm going to make my pyramid bigger." I brought a little rubber doll to my "room." "Here's the girl who lives in this room," I said to Susan. "Would you make her a place to sit?" "I can't," she quickly replied. "Do you want to see me make my pyramid bigger?"

I pointed to the sides of her pyramid. "Those could be stairs," I said. "The little girl could go up the stairs." "They're *not* stairs," Susan informed me. "This is a pyramid, and I can make it bigger." I brought a mother and a baby doll, knowing that Susan had a baby brother. "What is the mommy saying to the little girl?" I prompted. "Nothing," Susan said and averted her eyes. "What is the little girl saying to the mommy?" "Nothing," she answered. "What is the baby saying to the little girl?" "Ha," she said, "he can't talk."

That is Susan—technically proficient, but without feeling or imagination.

Circular Thinking

A psychologist involved in testing children tells a similar story. This woman asks children to tell her what they think the sound of pouring water is like, or the sound of jangling keys or the sound of slamming a book on the table. But the children, she says, answer in circular fashion—"It sounds like pouring water"; "It sounds like jangling keys"; "Like slamming a book on the table"—circular, literal, rigid. They cannot stretch out to imagine beyond the obvious.

Geometry and Make-Believe

But these, you may say, are sick children. Then how do we explain the following?

A little six-year-old who was visiting me drew a picture of my cat in which she made the ears like round balls. I asked her to look closely at my cat's ears to see what shape they were. She stared hard and said, "They're triangles." In a kindergarten classroom a child of five and one-half noticed a cutout of a sailboat and gave it the name "triangle boat." At Hallowe'en time a teacher in a first-grade class held up a paper plate she had colored like a Jack-O-Lantern and asked her class with a big smile if they recognized it. They did. They said it was a circle.

Where was their imagination, that beautiful power of make-believe so vital to childhood and creative thought? Is all the world a geometric shape?

The Right Answers

But this is not all. I spoke of mechanical learning, imitation and rote responses. Let me describe a first-grade child whom I was helping with two different math exercises, one having to do with the concept of 10, and the other with the concepts of greater than and lesser than. The exercise on the number 10 appeared in the workbook after those numbers 1 to 9, a logical ordering. The page had a series of symbolic renditions of 10 scattered among other numerical groupings. For the number 10 there were two parallel rows of five squares repeated at intervals, and there were bundles of ten sticks repeated at intervals. The child I am describing circled the bundles of ten sticks correctly but never the two rows of five squares. So did she really know 10?

In attempting to help her, I brought out concrete materials. She knew how to count to ten easily enough, but her sense of 10 as a grouping seemed a little vague. I asked her why she thought that the bundle of sticks was 10 but not the two rows of five squares. Oh! That was easy, she explained. When there was a *string* tied around the bundle, that meant it was 10! On another page, the exercise related to greater and lesser than called for the child's application of the mathematical symbols for greater than, lesser than, and equal to in a series of number relationships. At the head of the exercise page appeared numbers from 1 to 10 as a guide. The child struggled with the exercises, and as with those for 10, once again got some right and some wrong. After some experiences with the concrete materials that I offered her, she turned back to the workbook and fumbled as often as she succeeded. I again asked her how it happened that she got the right answers. That was simple too. She had figured out, she told me, that if a number in the problem fell on the left side of numbers 1 to 10 at the top of the page, you used one symbol, but if the number fell on the right side of the series, you used the other symbol.

Such maneuvering certainly indicated intelligence, but not grasp of concepts. Piaget would say that Nancy was not yet conserving at age six and one-half, which is a completely normal age at which not to be conserving. But her teacher was assuming that the systematically organized workbook would take care of the concepts, and of course the workbook can't.

PRECOCITY VS. MATURITY

To be sure, we do want children to develop proficiencies, to have skills and knowledge. But we need to recognize important differences between children and machines. Children are capable of feelings, of identifying with the feelings of others, of gaining insights and understanding concepts. Children can use their skills for unique and imaginatively conceived purposes. They should not be asked to compete with the speed and perfection of machines; nor should they be educated as though we are expecting them to behave like machines, without feeling and imagination. Children need more than proficiency and precocity. Children need to be educated for maturity, and that calls for a qualitatively different kind of total experience from the rote learning now being imposed on younger and younger children.

The Spread of Alienation

Children today are growing up in a society in which the adults speak knowingly and sometimes despairingly about impersonalization, alienation, lack of contact of people with each other, lack of responsibility of people for each other; about social institutions run by computers, or in which no person will take responsibility for making a decision; of business organizations so big that no one knows who owns them or to whom to complain. In such a setting, the contact with adults that is the lifeblood of children's socialization and humanization is decreasing at an alarming rate. Not only has the small storekeeper who knows them from infancy been replaced by the supermarket; or the local bus on which one met one's neighbors been replaced by the private family car that isolates children from their neighbors. Not only has the television set in the living room cut off an unbelievable amount of person-to-person interaction with parents and siblings, increasing the reliance on mechanical aids instead of on people or even on oneself. But at school young children are forced into cognition exercises and symbol learning before they know three-dimensional reality. Yet Piaget, who studied children so long and so well, insists that two kinds of experience are essential for proper growth and learning in childhood:

Mutual relationships with other people. Relationships with peers especially allow children to take more than one point-of-view at the same time, an operation Piaget says is essential to the development of conservation.

Interaction between the child and the physical environment. The relationships, the causes and the consequences of a child's own actions help him or her to grow aware of changes of many kinds and gradually to gain perspective, an important move away from the literalness that is normal in young children, but such a deterrent to creative thought later on.

FIVE BIG NEEDS

How shall this day's child be nurtured at school? Several things are possible, but especially necessary in this time of alienation are:

1. *Contact with people* in school units small enough for interpersonal relations, in which individuals can get a chance to emerge as individuals.

2. *Materials that are raw and unstructured* so that children can mold and make, design and change, according to burgeoning perceptions. Teachers need to understand the possibilities in such materials better than they now do. Unstructured materials hold potential within them that only a person can unlock. But the potential of materials for productivity varies. For example, water, sand and clay could be seen to hold increasing potential for molding and making, even though all hold similar potential for emotional release. Consider also the difference between crayons and Magic Markers. With crayons a child can produce shades and variations of intensity, thus producing tone and quality. With the Magic Markers the only variation is straight color; and that's all done for him—clean, cold and meaningless. Teachers have to learn how to support today's children in their use of materials from the first exposures and exploration to productivity. Offering materials and standing back are not enough. Old-fashioned children know what to do with sand, clay, blocks, paint, scraps of every kind. But the new nonimaginative child does not and needs help. Let me share an illustration with you.

A first-grade teacher had a sandbox in her room that the children loved and used freely. By mid-February the by-now-seven-year-olds were messing around in the sand, adding water, shoving the sand back and forth, enjoying the texture. But seven-year-olds are too old to use sand as a purely sensory experience endlessly; and even these undeveloped children, who needed time to enjoy sensory experience beyond the usual, had had it. While the teacher sensed that, she did not know what to do once the children were exposed. She assumed that having a sandbox in a first grade where reading instruction was also going on was an innovative move that could stand on its own merits.

My student teacher in that class was encouraged to think about a way in which the sandbox could serve a more thoughtful purpose beyond a primary, purely sensory satisfaction. She decided to let the children build a model of their room in the sandbox. They went to it with a will; but being young and literal, they started to make the floor at the bottom of the sandbox by mixing "cement." That meant pouring water into the sand, slopping it around and getting nowhere again. The student teacher had failed to understand that sand as a medium of productivity has limitations as well as potential. Making a model of a classroom is not a suitable project with sand—making a hill and a valley yes, but not a room. So she thought further, gave up the sand for the moment, and concentrated on the project of the room. She brought in a largish carton which already had the shape of a room and then urged the children to draw and cut out any objects that stood against the walls in the room and paste these on the walls of the box. As the children located places for the blackboard, the sink, the desk, etc. in the symbolic room, they began to look at the relationships within the room more closely, and thus their minds began to stretch. Knowing children *and* knowing materials are both necessary if teachers are to help young children grow and learn.

3. *Skills* should be attended to as children are ready for maximum success with them and not worshipped as sacred rites unrelated to their meaning in children's lives. We have blown out of kilter the time for beginning reading, making young children work and teaching older people to play. Something is very wrong with that.

4. *Parents* must be welcomed to the school and embraced. Teachers and parents need each other in the rearing and educating of children. Both must recognize that together they can be a force in creating an oasis for children in the midst of the turmoil and anxiety of a society in trouble. Parents are frightened and confused. With no backing from larger family, community or even national norms, they feel alone. It is not easy to be a parent today, and schools must accept parents as partners in a common task, thus giving strength to both as together they serve children.

5. We need *a sense of purpose* ourselves, and we have to help children find theirs. In foisting onto our children the frantic pace adults find so hard to tolerate, we are flying in the face of the hard reality that the world as this generation knows it is up for question. For example: bigness is being questioned, not only by our young people, who fought it years before the rest of us were aware of its cancerous potential to undermine human interaction, but even by a beginning handful of economists, city planners and architects. If our purpose is to be human in intent, then *moral and ethical behavior* must become a way of life again so that children can learn right from wrong in a climate that is not so totally relativistic that nothing is right or wrong.

If any remain who are confused about children or about our task, let me offer a quotation that sums up our tasks and our concerns. It comes from a little volume called ***Children's Rights***, written by Kate Douglas Wiggin and published in 1892.

> *On commitment:*
> There is always time to do the thing that ought to be, that ***must be done***, and for that matter who shall fix the limits of our powers of helpfulness? It is the unused pump that wheezes. If our bounty be dry, cross, and reluctant, it is because we do not continually summon and draw it out. But if, like the patriarch Jacob's, our well is deep, it cannot be exhausted.

Adapted from a presentation to the mini-conference on early childhood education sponsored by the Infancy and Early Childhood Committees of the Association for Childhood Education International at the 1974 ACEI Study Conference in Washington, D.C.

By ANTON BRENNER

RE-EXAMINING READINESS

An unexamined life is not worth living.—SOCRATES

The real art of progress is to preserve order amid change and change amid order. (1)

THE FOLLOWING STUDY IS A COMPREhensive multidimensional concept of readiness which allows for continuity and change. It is subdivided into the developmental approach to readiness, the uniqueness of the child, dimensions of readiness, programs that fit children, timing and the assessment of the present situation in order to draw conclusions for the needs of the next two decades.

Developmental Approach

We may say: "At the beginning of the life cycle the organism is weakly developed in structure and function; is inexperienced with nurture and environment and has little learning." (18) Structure, function, affectivity, cognition, personality and readiness are parts and result of ongoing developmental processes and changes. Growth, development and learning take place through constant interaction between an individual and his environment. This leads to a gradually increasing accumulation and differentiation in the individual organism with an increase in his ability to perceive, to analyze and to synthesize experience from both within and beyond himself. The more developmentally advanced the person is, the more he is able to act effectively in pursuing and controlling his developmental tasks. Translated into readiness for school this means that the more a child is able to perceive, to incorporate experience into developing behavior and finally to analyze and synthesize it, the more he is ready for school. Readiness then can be considered a continuing function of perceptual-con-

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ceptual and personal development. It is a process of successful development from primitive wholistic to differentiated wholistic perception and personality structure. (5, 6, 8) Such thinking provides a rationale and a method for measuring readiness for school. (6, 8, 10)

The developmental approach tells and gives reasons that no two children are exactly alike; no two children arrive at readiness or unreadiness through exactly the same route and with the same speed; no two children develop the same readiness or unreadiness pattern. Each child is unique.

Uniqueness of Child

Each child is a unique organism of body and mind, a product of 'activating and activated hereditary factors. There is constant interaction and transaction between a child's organism and his physical, intellectual, emotional, social, economic and cultural environment—and with the spirit of the times, the Zeitgeist—which produce his specific life experiences and a unique pattern of growth and readiness or unreadiness. (5, 6, 7, 9) Each child has a unique potential for becoming, learning, being affected by his milieu; for speaking his language; for doing things, relating to others, to matter and mind. Thus he is distinguished from every other child.

A reflection on dimensions of readiness will throw more light on uniqueness.

Dimensions of Readiness

We understand readiness as a relationship phenomenon. Readiness is functional potentiality. It is a functional unity of subject-object orientation, of individual-task or individual-goal directedness. We always ask: ready for what? In each part of this unity, the individual side and the task side, we can discover various dimensions. On the individual side there are these dimensions:

1. Individuals differ as to the time when they are ready for a given task: some earlier, some later, some at about the same time; one and the same individual is ready for one task now, but not yet for another task.
2. Individuals differ in latitude or breadth of readiness, having a wide or narrow range of interests, skills, vocabulary, knowledge, and such at their disposal at any given time.
3. Individuals differ in dynamic variability, in their flexibility to adjust to a task.
4. Individuals differ in the degree of intensity or depth of their various readinesses.
5. Individuals differ in "composition," in blending of personality traits which make them ready or not ready.
6. They differ in inner motivation, self-motivation, self-selection, seeking behavior, will to learn or achievement motivation.

It is important to realize that these six dimensions apply to the physical as well as to the cognitive, emotional and social aspects of an individual. In their combination they form a unique individual pattern distinctly different from any other individual pattern. This gives us an idea of the complexity of readiness among and within individuals. Yet this is only one side of the picture and therefore incomplete. The task side has also its six dimensions. Tasks vary in time (when they appear during a life span; how much time is needed or given for their solution); they vary in magnitude, complexity, structure, kind and degree of difficulty (composite of the four other dimensions) and in motivational power or valence which varies for different individuals or for one individual at different times.

Now we are prepared to understand the total complexity of readiness. It is only when we see individual and task dimensions in their interrelatedness that we can speak meaningfully of readiness for school and of its nature. We can now say: readiness is multidimensional, functional potentially in relation to multidimensional school demands and expectations (5).

It is highly important to understand readiness as a relationship concept in two other ways:

- Like Leibnitzen's Monad each individual is "loaded with the past and pregnant with the future." This means that readiness is related to past and future life experiences. Poor past experiences will lead to low readiness; low readiness will tend to lead to low future achievement. Rich and stimulating past life experiences will produce high readiness, and high readiness offers a good prospect for future achievement.

- Readiness is relative. A child may be ready for *his* school and its demands, for *his* cultural milieu, with this particular educational philosophy and value orientation, but he may not be ready for another one unless the school makes a point of being ready for this child regardless of his individual state of readiness.

Programs That Fit Children

Our concept of readiness as a multidimensional individual-task relationship bears in itself the idea that a child is ready for a task when his level of readiness is commensurate with the task requirements, when there is a fit between his functional potential and the demands of a task situation. In our research we have called this "the principle of fit." (7) More recently, Hunt speaks of "The problem of the match." (19) Our case studies showed that achievement level is the outcome of a child-school transactional pattern; that is, achievement is situationally as well as individually determined. High achievement can be considered the product of a "very good fit" between the child's personality characteristics and the demands and expectations of the school. Conversely, low achievement can be considered the result of "poor fit" between the two.

The conclusions for school programs are obvious. Administrators and teachers should solve the problem of the match and apply the principle of fit in their planning and work. This is an art. It requires familiarity with the child's life experiences, his developmental level, mind structure and aspirations on the one hand and understanding of subject matter and its structure on the other hand, both fusing together to the "right" method. (8, 11, 12, 15). This is not easy with twenty or thirty different levels of readiness in a classroom; with different backgrounds of teacher and children; different rates of maturation and development; continuously changing structures or cognitive-emotive schemata of the individual child; or when external conditions change, a new curriculum or a new method is to be introduced. In each case, child and program should be properly fitted. The teacher must beware both of demands which are too high and of demands which are too low, the first ones leading to a failure, the others to boredom with all their negative accompaniments and aftermaths.

The shortest formula for the principle of fit is "subject-object adequacy," subject meaning here the individual, object meaning the task. There is one aspect in this bi-polar constellation which is essential and should never be overlooked: proper timing.

Timing

We have referred to it already when we discussed the time dimension in the individual and task side of readiness.

The child himself gives us the best clue. "Each child punches his own time clock," W. Todd used to say. Thus, the teacher must be alert to see when a child through his behavior gives him a sign that he has new interests; that he is ready to move into a new direction; that he wants order rather than chaos; that he has mastered skills to a degree that allows the teacher to build on, apply, intensify or expand previous learnings. Teachers are also well advised to heed Thoreau's suggestion that if a child does not keep pace with others he may listen to his own inner drummer—this is his own rate of maturation and development. The timing of a task exposure which is right for some children is not right and therefore poor timing for other children.

This assertion must be firmly maintained in the face of the present controversy about maturation. (3, 5, 11, 12, 15, 20, 21, 23, 24) The tendency is to devaluate maturation. Still, timing can be too early or too late to produce the best learning effect, notwithstanding present-day emphasis on "early interference." (4, 13, 14, 15) "Any attempt to teach a child . . . at too early a period of development may result in his learning bad habits or simply in his 'learning not to learn,' either of which results may greatly handicap him in later life." (23) There is a best time, "the teachable moment" and the "learnable moment" for each child, and there are critical periods in behavioral development. (23) To find the best time and to use it skillfully is part of the art of providing a proper fit in a teaching-learning program, be it formal or informal, outer-directed or self-directed, in preschool, school years, or in later life.*

This emphasis on proper timing does not preclude the idea that "it is worth the effort to provide the growing child with problems that tempt him into next stages of development." (11) This may indeed induce maturation (2) and develop readiness. It is, in fact, the great postulate of our times. (4, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 22)

Assessing the Present and Looking to the Future

Any program assessing the present situation must as a minimum include:

1. General acceptance of a widened comprehensive multidimensional concept of readiness.

2. Realization that readiness is a life-time job if the individual is to cope with the ever-changing demands in a rapidly changing society. It is also a nationwide obligation.

3. Recognition of roadblocks to readiness. Some of them are: hunger and poverty, lack of early life experiences, sensory deprivation, lack of language stimulation, poor self-image. All of them, singly and more so in their togetherness, have an inhibiting effect on the programing of the brain, on the development of perceptual-cognitive structure and processes, all slowing down the attainment of concepts, of intellectual, emotional and social transactions with the environment. As these deprivations have a cumulative effect, they may even lead to retardation in junior and senior high school, to dropout and unemployment, especially when they are coupled with a poor self-image and lack of motivation. Other roadblocks are: little use of intelligence whatever its potential; "loaded perceptions"—prejudices, distrust, fears and anxieties, hate, lack of consideration and respect for each other.

4. Constructive measures. We need

- removal of these roadblocks to readiness through provisions for early rich environmental stimuli, transactional experiences, improvement of self-image
- discovery and cultivation of individual potentialities in all social strata and at all levels of human development
- provisions for continuity of education and cooperation between home, preschool, school, job market
- sensitivity to the needs of each child and the changing times

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* If interpreted in the light of subject-object adequacy in a teaching-learning situation, Bruner's statement, "There is no reason to believe that any subject cannot be taught to any child at virtually any age in some form," (11) becomes less controversial.

- flexibility: in school policies, curricula, teacher personalities, instructional materials and methods
- teacher training and in-service programs in which teachers are made aware of these needs, of research results, of new methods and strategies required to implement research
- continued nurture of the present enthusiasm, sense of involvement and commitment
- continued provision of funds for enriched educational environments for all, for more research in theory and action, and for follow-up programs to evaluate progress.

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Here are three contemporary approaches for reconciling each person's need for individuality and for sociality.

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Humanizing the Curriculum

David Elkind

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS, of whatever kind, must meet two basic yet contradictory human needs. One is the need for *individuality*, the striving of each person to be unique and to realize his or her full powers and potentials. The other need is for human *sociality:* to relate to other people and to subordinate one's personal inclinations for the benefit of others. In the broad sense, any educational program meeting one or both of these basic human needs could be said to be "humanistic." But in a narrower sense, humanistic education might be limited to those programs providing equal opportunity for the realization of human individuality *and* human sociality. In this introductory paper, I will discuss humanizing the curriculum in the broad sense and will outline three contemporary approaches to curriculum reform. These approaches can be distinguished by their desire to *add to, substract from* or *transform* existing curricula.

Adding to the Curriculum

When an existing curriculum is regarded as not allowing sufficient opportunity for human individuality, new curricula may be added to the old. In recent years, for example, a variety of so-called "affective" curricula have been proposed and have been added to the school program at different levels. Innovations, such as classroom meetings, value clarification and moral discussions, have been implemented to help individual children understand themselves and others better. Many of these activities are indeed useful to teachers and to children. They provide an additional set of tools and procedures to be used in educational practice and thus enrich the teachers' armamentarium.

But the affective curricula can present problems as well. They can, and often do, perpetuate the same errors that are imbedded in the traditional school curricula. That is to say, many aspects of the school curricula are too difficult for the cognitive level of the children to whom they are directed. Social studies offer a case in point. As commonly pursued, teaching first-grade children about the "cultures" of the world may be a futile exercise. How can one expect very young children, who cannot fully comprehend the ethnic differences in their own community, to understand the world of Australian aborigines?

Many of the affective curricula used in the schools repeat the error of demanding tasks beyond children's level of cognitive ability. Many children of elementary school age, for example, are not really able to rank their feelings from "1 to 5"; nor are they always able to reflect upon their own thinking in ways that permit assigning clear priorities to

"Good teaching is always affective
and *cognitive. . . ."*

what they want most or least. My eleven-year-old son, for example, has changed his mind five times about what he wants for his upcoming birthday. Children's priorities are shifting and transient rather than abiding or lasting. Is it worthwhile for children to go through the procedure of assigning priorities that are momentary at best?

Moreover, if the affective curricula are simply added to the school curricula, they can become a burden to teachers. The latter already have so much of the school curricula to "cover," and so little time to cover it, that the imposition of additional curricula can hinder rather than help them. And some affective curricula can backfire. A child whose parent has just died, or whose parents have just been divorced, may be deeply embarrassed or hurt by being required to reveal publicly what are legitimately personal feelings. Affective curricula that involve procedures geared to the child's level of understanding and meshed with the school curriculum can be beneficial. But if these methods and procedures are simply foisted upon the teacher as additional educational "objectives," the result may be just the opposite of what was intended.

Subtracting from the Curriculum

A somewhat different approach to curriculum reform is taken when current educational practices are regarded as not sufficiently geared to socialization—to the acquisition of tool skills required for the successful adaptation of the individual to society. The current "back-to-basics" movement reflects this approach. It argues that too much attention in education has been paid to individuality and too little to sociality. Accordingly, those who advocate "back to basics" often want to substract those aspects of the educational program that speak to human individuality; namely, the arts. Presumably, the less time spent on the arts, the more time available to spend on the fundamentals.

In my opinion, the back-to-basics movement, like that of affective education, is based on a false premise. Affective education may lead to the inference that cognitive and affective processes are distinct and have to be addressed separately. But good teaching is always affective *and* cognitive, and the successful teacher is always "half ham and half egghead." Teachers' enthusiasm for the subject matter and their respect for and good feeling for children provide all the affective education a child needs in the school setting.

The back-to-basics movement is based on another false premise of a different order than that which gave rise to affective education. It is that if children today are doing more poorly in academic subjects than they were a decade ago, then this fact *must* be due to our having been too soft and too permissive. The widely reported drop in SAT scores over the last fifteen years has most often been interpreted in this way. Critics have argued that the drop was caused by schools' not requiring children to read and to write enough and by young people's wasting time by watching television.

The belief that decline in performance must be a result of sloth is, of course, deeply imbedded in our Puritan heritage. But in this case it happens to be wrong. Just about fifteen years ago the "new" curricula, stimu-

—Peggy Fox, Cockeysville, MD

lated by Sputnik, hit the schools. These curricula, created by university professors, were up-to-date—with the "new math" and "psycholinguistic" reading programs, not to mention a plethora of science programs. These curricula were much more hard-nosed than the child-centered "progressive" materials that preceded them. Far from being "soft" on children, the new curricula were more difficult than many others in recent American educational history. The drop in SAT scores then may reflect the fact that the new curricula were too *hard* rather than that they were too easy.

Some evidence favors this last statement. For example, although SAT scores in math and reading went down, scores in creativity and analytic skills went up—just what one would expect if the new curricula were too difficult. In dealing with curricula beyond their comprehension, children have to be both analytical (to figure out what is going on) and creative (to find their own ways to deal with the curriculum demands). In addition, some of the curricula materials now coming out that reflect the back-to-basics philosophy are easier and more child-centered than much of the curricula of the sixties!

The back-to-basics movement, then, while it starts from a false premise, has had some positive effects. Under the guise of "getting tougher" on children, the new curricula have in fact often gotten easier. And this change is all to the good. Some recent data from the National Assessment of Academic Achievement indicates that reading scores for 9-year-olds have gone up over the last four years but that this finding does not hold for 13- or 17-year-olds. My interpretation is that these 9-year-old children are products of the new curricula, which are child-centered and concrete.

What is more negative in the back-to-basics movement in elementary education is the de-emphasis of the arts. If the aim of the back-to-basics movement is to enhance socialization, then de-emphasizing the arts is a sad mistake. The arts are social as well as individual. In a very real sense the arts are a basic means of social communication, the way individuals can share a sense of beauty. By de-emphasizing the arts, the back-to-basics movement deprives children of a prime means for reconciling the conflicting demands of human sociality and human individuality.

Transforming the Curriculum

When the curriculum is regarded as not paying sufficient heed to the integration of human individuality and sociality, a different approach to curriculum reform is taken. Those who see the curriculum in this way want neither to add to nor to substract from it but rather to *transform* it in such a way that the needs for individuality and sociality can be brought into harmony. To my mind, this approach to education is best exemplified by the informal- or "open-"education movement. In many ways the open-education movement is a modern version of Dewey's "project" method, in which social adaptation and pupil interest were both taken into account in choosing curriculum materials.

The open-education approach to curriculum is too well known to be reviewed in detail here. Such programs allow for pupil choice and allow children to take responsibility for their own learning. The emphasis is upon teacher-made rather than commercial materials, and the teaching is heavily experience-based. The school day is loosely organized into large blocks of time rather than into closely clocked intervals. Great emphasis is accorded the arts as an integral part of education, particularly in providing means of expression. In all these ways, open education tries to transform the curriculum so that the needs for individuality and sociality reinforce and complement, rather than conflict with, one another.

But the open-education approach to curriculum is not without its own problems. Good informal instruction is hard work, and the teacher has constantly to fight against the temptation to institutionalize innovation. And nothing is more deadly to children than an overdone idea. The opposite danger must be faced as well. I have seen children engaged in truly innovative science or math activities that were both interesting and fun. But these activities were not integrated with the rest of the school program, and neither I nor the children could see where they were leading. In the same way, I have seen children so conditioned to asking questions that they no longer bothered to wait for the answers. Done well, open education can be a model of truly humanistic education; done poorly, it can be a disaster.

Conclusion

In this paper I have briefly outlined three contemporary approaches to humanizing the curriculum, to reconciling each person's need for individuality and sociality. Each of the approaches—affective education, back-to-basics and open education—speaks to an important need or needs. Each approach has limitations as well as virtues. We find, then, no one single answer to humanizing the curriculum. How we approach the task will depend upon our world view and our priorities with regard to human individuality and sociality. And children can adapt to and profit from each of these approaches, so long as each is taken with the children in mind. In the broadest sense, humanizing the curriculum means putting child-need and child-ability into the curriculum equation.

See also:

Hawkins, David. "Balancing Basics: The Three Rs Revisited." CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, 50, 4 (Feb. 1974): 187-91.

"Increasing and Releasing Human Potentials." CHILDHOOD EDUCATION 47, 7 (Apr. 1971). See esp. David Elkind, pp. 346-48.

The Child: Consumer or Consumed?

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LILIAN G. KATZ

MUCH OF our thinking tends to occur in metaphors and analogies. This practice has clearcut dangers. When those of us who are professional educators use terms such as *models, delivery systems, products* and *unit costs*, for example, we are applying to our own field analogies borrowed from the world of manufacturing. Let us consider some ways the commercial/industrial aspects of our wider society impinge upon the education and development of young children.

What happens when we apply a manufacturing concept such as *unit cost* to education? Do we really save money and effort by maintaining larger schools and standardizing both curricula and testing procedures? Because of my own doubts about this matter, I have been trying to formulate a "law of numbers," which goes like this:

> a) As the number of children in an educational setting increases, the number of rules, regulations, norms and role prescriptions also increases
> b) As the number of rules, regulations, etc. increases, the number of children who deviate from them increases
> c) As the number of deviants increases, the number of special programs and procedures increases
> d) As the number of special programs increases, costs of education increase.

According to this "law," by the time we sum up the costs of all the special programs included in our schools we would find them just as expensive—if not more so—than the costs of maintaining smaller classes and schools. In smaller classes teachers can *know* children. When a teacher knows her children well, she has less need of rules and regulations. She can make individual clinical decisions and judgments based on her understanding of each child. When the numbers increase, the use of regulations and standardized procedures is inevitable.

Furthermore, in smaller classes we might make our definition of "normal" more inclusive than it now is, and rechannel much of what we now spend on special programs on efforts to strengthen and increase teachers' clinical skills and insights.

The law of numbers is related to the general principle that the category "children with special needs" is a direct function of how we define what is normal. Indeed, the placement of children, somehow defined as nonnormal, into special programs (remedial classes, tutoring programs, etc.) bears some similarity to the recalling of defective automobiles by the automobile industry. Unlike educators, however, manufacturers do not have to worry about the self-concept and aspirations of their defective products.

I believe that if we educators approach our work as cultivators rather than manufacturers, we could more readily accept the fact that significant growth and learning take time; that attitudes, feelings and ideas cannot simply be stamped out in production-line fashion—they must be gradually developed, refined and nurtured.

THREE DICHOTOMIES

In relation to the analogies referred to above, three sets of distinctions can be drawn:

Customers or Generators

In educational circles we frequently use terms like "selling ideas," being "sold" on a model or reading program. We often express agreement with someone by saying, "I'll buy that!" In these examples we are applying a salesmanship analogy to activities that are not part of commerce at all.* Much dissemination of information about educational innovation is analogous to sales-office bulletins. For example, look at these headlines taken from a government publication:

"St. Louis' Educational Supermarket"
"Dovack's Machines Help Children Read"
"A Record-Smashing Year for American Education!"

What consequences follow from the salesmanship approach to education innovation and dissemination? One is that when we "sell" solutions to problems, we teach our client to be a customer or consumer of solutions. If he learns too well to be a customer, he may fail to ever become a generator of solutions.

Other consequences of educational salesmanship are that salesmen tend to exaggerate or oversell. They usually avoid mention of precautions, safeguards or undesirable side-effects; and they tend to rely on "straw men" against which to strengthen their claims ("Our model gives better reading scores than model X"). When an educational innovation is oversold in this way, disillusionment and mistrust are likely consequences.

A more appropriate approach to disseminating information about education is that of *informing*. In this approach the disseminator explains ideas or innovations, outlines precautions and safeguards, and expects the client to weigh the risks against the advantages. The exaggeration and "straw man" aspects of salesmanship are unnecessary when the disseminator treats the client as a person capable of making critical assessments and judgments for himself. If we are to strengthen our professional resourcefulness and wisdom, we must exercise our critical judgment and not accept the customer role.

Behaviors or Experiences

Recently I observed a classroom in which four-year-olds were being instructed in a behavior modification model. They were behaving just as they were supposed to, but I began wondering why no one seemed concerned about how the children *felt* about what they were doing. It seemed to me that this kind of program illustrates the fact that too often the quality of experience—i.e., how children feel—is overlooked when the main focus is on behavior. As Gladys Gardner Jenkins stresses in her article to follow, the important thing about behavior is what it means and what it feels like—to the behaver especially.

Behavior can be manufactured; high quality experience must be cultivated. Quick judgments can be made about behavior; i.e., that it did or did not occur. But quick judgments cannot always be made about the *meaning* of behavior. Let us suppose that the behavior observed is a child crying. One way to respond is to designate the behavior as undesirable, and proceed to ignore it. But it could mean an endless variety of experiences: fear, pain, frustration, disappointment, anguish, exhaustion, manipulation of others, desire for attention, hunger and so on. These meanings define the quality of the child's experiences.

Whenever we make large-scale judgments of children, as by standardized tests, we reduce the information to the assessment of behavior; meanings are omitted.

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* L. G. Katz and R. Krasnow, "Selling or Informing: Approaches to Educational Change." Unpublished paper, University of Illinois, 1973.

Excitement or Interest

Many teachers feel under pressure to keep their classes full of excitement. Confusion between excitement and education is culture-wide.

Hypothetically, at least, most children function at a characteristic, stable level of activity and involvement—although this normal characteristic level of activity differs among individuals. Now picture that we introduce into the environment of the child an event he experiences as exciting. At this point, his level of responsiveness or arousal goes up, but it cannot be maintained for any length of time. The excitement must wear off. My hunch is that as excitement subsides, children may fall *below* their own normal level of responsiveness. During this below-normal period many children become apathetic; some withdraw and some others appear to "fall apart" or to be overtired.

But when teachers feel compelled to make activities exciting and "fun," they must introduce yet another dose of adult-induced excitement to get the children back to normal. Often teachers are forced thereby to use gimmicks and tricks, of the kind everyone needs for the proverbial rainy day. This pattern of excitement, depression and new adult inducements is almost like an addiction pattern. It can become exhausting to teachers and children.

Another important consideration is that this pattern may teach children to *expect* to be excited or turned on. If we teach them to look always for adult inducements, they cannot at the same time develop their own capacities for generating enriching and stimulating activities on their own. In other words, they may acquire an increasing need to be entertained by others, to become consumers of thrills.

The point is that we are not caught between the extremes of excitement and boredom. As I see it, the alternative is to develop environments and activities from which children can derive satisfaction over a long period of time. The capacity to be interested and involved is strengthened through engagement in the kinds of activities that require genuine and appropriate problem-solving, mastery of the difficult, concentration and even a little routine over a period of time. Such activities may provide satisfaction; when we settle for excitement we settle for cheap goals.

As a case in point, the following is one of the activities I saw one morning in a crowded nursery school for three- to five-year-olds:

> A small group of children who had started playing doctor and nurse had added a hospital bed, several doctors' "instruments," and both people and doll patients. Two boys using a car steering wheel and blocks devised an ambulance in which they "transported" their patients to the hospital.

The children working in this and other projects did not appear "excited." They did seem to be deeply involved and interested in reconstructing salient aspects of their own experiences and environments.

CONCLUSION

I have tried to show that some of our problems in early childhood education are linked to problems of the society wherein we live and work. The efficiency approach, which serves us well in the production of goods, is not the best approach to the growth and development of children or to the needs of teachers. In my view, cultivation of young lives requires mind-to-mind interaction. So many of the academic models currently popular in early childhood education only serve to increase the distances between minds in classrooms. Is it not possible that the chips and gold stars used as tokens are perceived as coming from dispensing machines? Can a child feel that tokens put him in contact with wise human minds?

The products of our industrial enterprises do not have experiences. But each *child* has an inner life of hopes, joys, wishes, desires and angers, just as every adult has. The quality of these experiences is what life is all about.

End the Other Abuse

Damaged Self-Concepts

Eric V. Strickland and
Kenneth C. Campbell

ALMOST DAILY we read or hear reports of child abuse. In spite of prevention programs, hot-lines and mandatory reporting of suspected abuse, the number of child abuse cases increases at an alarming rate. Yet, shocking as they are, the figures do not reflect what may be an even more pervasive, insidious and difficult-to-counteract phenomenon—emotional abuse: abuse of the child's self-concept and feelings of worth. Because damaged self-concepts and shattered self-esteem bear no visible wounds, emotional abuse is less easily identified than physical abuse. Consequently, little corrective effort or attention has been focused in this direction.

Certainly physical abuse should receive immediate and continuing attention. Indeed, the problem requires stepped-up efforts. The very fact that the first mandatory child abuse reporting law is barely 20 years old is a serious indictment of our failure to move swiftly enough in this area. At the same time, however, we need to address the problem of emotional abuse. Children bleed and hurt emotionally as well as physically. Unlike physical abuse, which is highly visible, emotional abuse is easily overlooked; it continues unabatedly, generating further abuse.

But low visibility and difficulty in identification do not excuse the fact that such abuse occurs. The time has come, in fact is long overdue, for those who work with children (teachers, principals, bus drivers, school workers, others) to end emotional abuse in the schools and to replace it with thoughtful efforts to foster positive self-concepts.

A PLAN OF ACTION

Acknowledging that emotional abuse exists is the crucial first step in solving the problem. The following plan of action suggests additional steps to help end such abuse in your school and the resultant damage to self-concepts.

Become aware of what the term "positive self-concept" means

Self-concept is "What I am. I believe this is me, therefore it is me. I recognize my strengths and deficiencies and work from my strengths to improve my deficiencies with a reasonable expectation of success. But I am able to accept a less-than-perfect success with the belief that I am still a person of worth."

Examine your influence as teacher on children's self-concepts

Your role as teacher is basically that of helping children to develop positive self-concepts through:

☐ conscious, deliberate guidance—

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teaching, discipline, education, re-education

☐ unconscious guidance—your personality; your attitudes and feelings toward yourself, children and others; your outlook on life; your usual ways of reacting.

Identify concepts related to effective guidance

☐ All behavior is caused; it doesn't just happen. Behavior—both "good" and "bad"—is a striving toward growth, self-fulfillment and independence.

☐ Discipline is any kind of effort aimed at helping children learn to deal with environmental demands that go against their own wishes or feelings. The aim of discipline is not to punish or eliminate freedom but to provide children *freedom within limits* which they can manage.

Analyze your own feelings of self-worth

Again, part of guidance is unconscious: the influence of the adult's personality on the child. This unconscious guidance can be very potent; you affect children far more by what you *are* than by anything you *do or say*. Whether or not you can help children develop healthy self-concepts depends in large part upon whether you have a healthy self-concept yourself, free of undue tensions and fears, excessive worry or a driving need to be perfect. Perhaps the best thing you can do for children is to strive to become a mentally healthy human being yourself. Analyze your own points of difficulty and begin to put life's problems into proper perspective.

For most of us, the one great contribution of our lives will be our influence on the lives of those close to us. This can be positive, or it can be negative. Remember, children and others who look to you don't expect perfection. Yes, you may be angry (this is honest) when the occasion calls for anger. Yes, you may make mistakes in your handling of difficult situations; but you must not be afraid to admit, openly and honestly, that you erred. The children won't think less of you. They will instead develop an understanding that even you, their "significant other," can make mistakes—and, therefore, so can they and still be persons of worth.

Accept children as individuals

Children need to be accepted by their teacher. True acceptance means that you take children as they are without trying to make them into different kinds of persons or even wishing they were different. You grant children the right to their own feelings and ideas. You do not criticize, shame or punish them for "bad attitudes" or "wrong feelings," even those directed against you. You may stop or redirect undesirable behavior, but you do not try to discourage children from putting their feelings into words. You are able to relate to children and realize how frustrating even the necessary interferences of an adult can be to a young child.

Allow for increasing freedom

From infancy to adulthood, children need gradually increasing freedom to do things on their own, to try themselves out, to decide for themselves. Through the early school years, they need increasing freedom to explore their world and try out their skills; to run, jump, climb, get dirty, make a mess, use tools. This kind of freedom allows children to learn the many things they need to know about themselves and their world, to discover and have confidence in their abilities.

Allow children opportunities to take responsibility for their own actions and feelings

Children need help in learning to recognize and accept the fact that they themselves determine what kinds of persons they become. It is they who decide how to react in various situations. They must learn not to blame "fate," other people or circumstances for their own mistakes, failures, feelings or undesirable behavior. This kind of learning takes many years to achieve, and it needs to be started in the early years.

You the adult can help children to be responsible for their own actions only if you have truly recognized and accepted responsibility for yourself. You do not blame children for your feelings or reactions to their behavior. You set a good example by facing up to your own mistakes and failure. Also, you apologize when an apology is due a child. You recognize and accept your own feelings and do not "lie" to the child by pretending to feel differently.

You can help children recognize and accept their own feelings, their responsibility for difficulties they create for themselves, and the consequences of their own behavior.

□ You put into words, *without shame or blame*, feelings that children may be expressing, helping them to recognize their feelings: "You felt very sad when you saw your best friend playing with someone else today."

□ You put into words, *without fault-finding or belittling*, children's responsibility for their own difficulties: "You told her you were mad at her and now she won't play with you." "You forgot your homework and now you have to do it during free time."

□ You help children see their own responsibility when they are blaming someone else for their troubles: "Did you throw your food at Joe before he hit you?" "What did we all agree to do if someone failed to do his or her homework?"

You realize that responsibility and freedom go together and that children can recognize and accept responsibility for themselves only to the extent that they are given the freedom they are capable of handling (and no more!)—freedom to do things for themselves, to make decisions for themselves.

Analyze your own school setting

Psychological abuse, emotional abuse, damage to self-concepts all refer to acts—sometimes well-intentioned—that occur almost as a matter of course during the school day. Children caught in difficult situations—victims of unrealistic demands or simply pushed from within by the desire for independence—come into conflict with expected school routines and behaviors. Too often the school routines themselves generate abuse that results in damaged self-concepts. Teachers and administrators must work together to bring an end to situations that heap abuse on children ill-prepared to handle it.

The sign in the school lunchroom listing the lunch schedule for the day may be seen in almost every school. However, signs like the one below (seen in a public school) hold children up to ridicule and cut deeply into their sense of belonging and well-being—especially when inquisitive children learn their hidden meanings, using them to taunt others.

LUNCH SCHEDULE
SPECIAL EDUCATION
TMR — 10:45
EMR — 10:45
KINDERGARTEN — 11:00
ETC. —

Children who are scheduled for special tutoring sessions or resource rooms are forced into an uncomfortable role. Everyone knows who the "labbies" are; they are the kids who are called out of reading 10 minutes after the "smart kids" have started reading. The "labbies" are the children who suffer those 20 long steps to the door in response to the well-meaning teacher who pops into the classroom and calls out, "Time for special reading." The "labbies" are the quiet children who try to blend into the walls so others will not notice—or they are the ones who, seeking to cover their hurt, disrupt the whole class.

Children's self-concepts are damaged in many other ways. If Mary never gets her name on the chart for a perfect paper in spelling, she receives the message that she is dumb. While the intent is to get her to strive for perfection, she may instead give up rather than continue to try against what may seem like impossible odds. Refusing to try insulates a child against failure, but it does not insulate the child against the damaging remarks of teachers or the snickers of peers.

Children frequently fall victim to emotional abuse under the guise of instruction.

Teacher: Johnny, read the next line.
Johnny: Which one?
Teacher: You mean you don't know?
You weren't listening were you?
You did this yesterday, too.
When will you ever learn to pay attention?

The intent is to help Johnny change his behavior; the outcome is probably less noble. Johnny (and the rest of the group) knows that he is temporarily out of step; the verbal harangue serves no worthwhile purpose. A quiet reminder, "the line that starts with Aunt Sally said . . .," is sufficient. Anything more only adds to Johnny's fear, frustration and anxiety.

Countless examples of incidents like these occur daily in schools everywhere. Not only are they demeaning and counterproductive, but the resultant damage to self-concepts may have far-reaching consequences beyond the classroom. The harmful effects of such emotional abuse may remain with children and surface in other contexts to diminish feelings of self-worth.

Those of us who work with children must lead the way in eradicating emotional abuse. We must look at ourselves, our routines and our school settings and identify those elements which contribute to psychological abuse of children. Once identified, we must summon our professional integrity and take steps to eliminate abusive elements. The effort will be great for the problem is great. However, the outcome for children in terms of belonging and self-esteem will be even greater.

Silent Messages

Patrick W. Miller

GOOD VERBAL SKILLS are an asset in the classroom, since teachers must rely heavily on spoken language—both in delivering and receiving messages. Serious consideration must also be given, however, to the feelings, needs and preferences exhibited through nonverbal actions. Teachers transmit many messages not verbally expressed. In fact, the bulk of communication between teachers and students is sent through nonverbal channels, which can either reinforce or thwart the learning process. Some of these nonverbal messages are explicitly clear and understood by all, while others are hazy or meant for a select few.

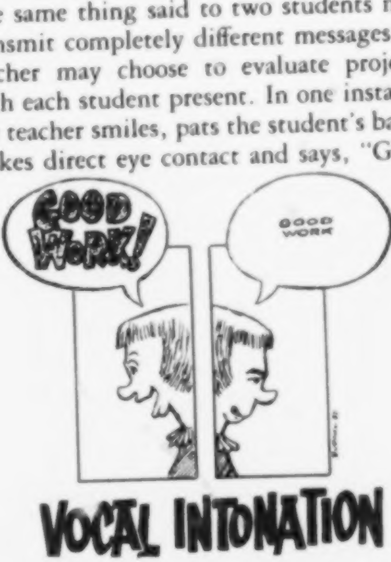
Certain professionals (television directors, symphony conductors and football referees, for example) systematically employ a range of nonverbal behaviors to convey messages (Stewig, 1979). Teachers also have a repertoire of nonverbal behaviors that are constantly affecting students, both positively and negatively, but teacher awareness of these silent messages is often minimal. Their lack of awareness includes both the inability to understand the messages they are sending with their actions and, conversely, the inability to properly receive students' nonverbal messages. Generally, no formal training is given in nonverbal communication for future teachers. Teacher training programs need to use more videotaping to illustrate various appropriate and inappropriate nonverbal behaviors.

Nonverbal behaviors, when accompanied by the spoken word, can either support or contradict the message being transmitted. For example, a teacher in trying verbally to justify to students the worth of homework assignments may indicate by negative facial expressions and posture that hours of time are required to grade these assignments. In this situation students might question the real worth of the homework because what they are hearing and what they are seeing are contradictory. Both verbal and nonverbal communication need to reinforce each other if a message is to be conveyed. If the verbal and nonverbal messages do not agree, the nonverbal will often dominate (Mehrabian, 1972).

Among the many nonverbal communication forms are outright behaviors such as facial expressions, touching and voice tone, as well as more subtle acts, which include dress, posture and spatial distance between communicating persons (Mehrabian, 1972).

Vocal Intonation

Vocal intonation is concerned with how something is said rather than what is said. The same thing said to two students may transmit completely different messages. A teacher may choose to evaluate projects with each student present. In one instance the teacher smiles, pats the student's back, makes direct eye contact and says, "Good



If effective communication is to be achieved in today's schools, contends the author, teachers and students must possess the ability to send and receive messages accurately.

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work!" In another situation, the teacher keeps a fairly large distance from the student, does not make eye contact and mumbles with a touch of sarcasm, "Good work."

This example demonstrates that even though the teacher gave the same verbal approach for workmanship, the first student (in the teacher's perception) submitted a superior effort. The irony of this example is that both students know, through vocal intonation coupled with other nonverbal signals, which is performing better. In addition, a major problem of shaping the second student's behavior could be detrimental because of the sarcasm accompanying the teacher's response, possibly causing a weaker student more painful effort in future assignments. Thus, the teacher's unsuccessful masking of true feelings, revealed through vocal intonation if not word choice, may cause more harm than expected.

Facial Expressions

The whole face and its separate features—eyes, mouth and even the nose—can express emotions, which include happiness, sadness, anger, surprise, disgust and interest. Most of us are quick to observe the facial expressions of others, but often are unaware of our own facial behaviors.

Jimmy tells his mother that the teacher does not like him. The mother asks why. "Well, she doesn't look at me when I talk to her. She always looks away and acts like I'm such a bother." Although the teacher did not say a negative word, her facial expressions clearly communicated, perhaps more accurately than anything she may have said, what she was truly feeling.

We all wear different faces for different occasions. The happy face is generally presented at social gatherings, the sad face at funerals, and the professional face at work. These faces, no matter how sincere they may appear to be, are often only facades directed by societal norms. The used-car salesman, for instance, will go out of his or her way to make a prospective buyer feel comfortable and interested by using all sorts of facial expressions. Though the salesman may verbally describe the automobile as precision craftsmanship made in Detroit, a good nonverbal observer can often pick up these "make-a-sale" masks for what they are worth.

As educators, we should be aware of the impact of our facial expressions. Often students need only a smile or a wink to inspire them to want to learn.

Eyes

The most dominant and reliable features of the face are the eyes. They can convey hate, fear and love, as well as express confidence, guilt and depression (McGough, 1974). Often referred to as the "mirrors of the soul," eyes are decisive factors in depicting the spoken truth. Just as with touch and

EYE CONTACT

spatial distance, eyes can be a signal indicating positive or negative feelings. People tend to look longer and more often at those they trust, respect and care about than at those they doubt or dislike. Thus, eye contact is more evident with persons with whom we feel comfortable than with those with whom we feel uneasy.

Numerous evaluator specialists suggest a stern look should be the first form of action taken by a teacher in handling obvious cheaters in a testing situation. This direct eye contact usually serves as a powerful deterrent, even as a corrective measure with the cheating student.

Eyes can also be a good indicator of interest, or lack of it, in a conversation. Most teachers are aware when students are bored with the subject matter being presented. Students' eyes often signal whether they are listening or not and transmit subtle messages about their level of attentiveness. If students are constantly looking at the wall clock rather than watching and listening to the teacher, it is a good indicator that they need a break, the content is dull or teacher motivation and preparation are lacking. In any case, observation of students' eyes can be used in a teacher's evaluation of his or her effectiveness in relaying a message.

Touch

Touch, like the other four sense modes, can express vivid meanings. A baby's first experiences with the outside world are received from the warmth of the mother's body. As the infant grows older, these tactual experiences are still used as a primary awareness tool to discover and learn, until societal inhibitions are imposed to curtail or alter these behaviors (Fast, 1970).

Many adults consider touching pretty much taboo. We tend to associate tactual experiences as private and often go out of our way to avoid making physical contact with strangers or even friends. An example of this tendency to shrink from touching is the frequency with which persons in a crowded elevator will offer excuses for accidental body contact.

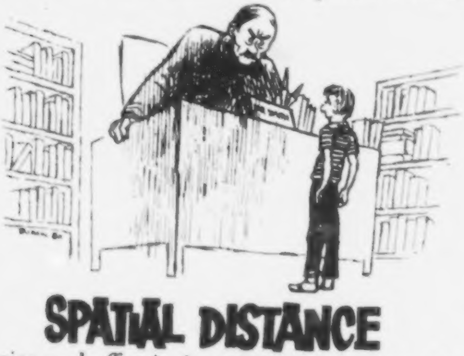
Touching behavior can also denote status or prestige. It is not uncommon for a football coach to put an arm around a player, but the reverse is unlikely. The same tactual expressions occur in the classroom where teachers will often give praise and encouragement through gentle pats on the back. Of course touching, such as a firm grasp on the arm, can also be used to extinguish disruptive behavior. In a work relationship, the student who "touches" first—puts a hand on another's shoulder, for example—establishes himself or herself as the one "in charge."

Spatial Distance

The distance between two persons can, in itself, indicate much about a relationship. Courting couples show closeness by hand-holding and embracing, whereas couples married for a number of years usually do not display such overt intimate behaviors.

In the classroom also the teacher uses space, though subtly, as a form of wordless communication to transmit a distinct message. A quick observation of a classroom situation will often tell who the teacher's pets are, as well as those students the teacher dislikes. Teachers have a tendency to "get closer" to the ones they like. A teacher who never wants to be accused of favoritism should make a conscious effort to get within the space bubble of *all* students.

Arrangement of physical objects, such as furniture, can also dictate spatial boundaries and effectively communicate through subtle channels. If a 7th-grade student is sent to the principal's office and finds him or her sitting in a large, high-backed chair behind a desk, with the remaining office furniture so positioned as to restrict easy access, the student clearly recognizes territorial boundaries. Certainly the 7th-grade student—or even an adult caller—may be intimidated by the indicated smaller chair for visitors. The principal's stature, by the spatial environment, is artificially exaggerated.

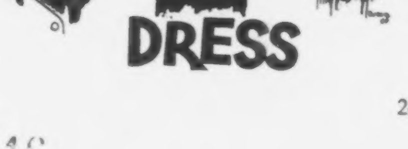


In a situation such as the one just described, the avenues of communication are hardly open, so the student would hardly dare express a personal opinion. Obviously, the spatial arrangement suggests that the principal is in a status position and, if this were coupled with a commanding reputation, the student would probably only listen to the lecture and leave without uttering a single word.

Such a situation is not that far fetched. Spatial distance is a low-key communicator often used in business, social gatherings, religious meetings and classrooms. Although we are often unconscious of space as a communication device, it can be used in the classroom to reinforce or hinder the communication process, thus ultimately affecting students' learning.

Dress

Often the way we dress expresses accurate or misleading information about wealth, cultural background and even job status. Although most of us are only superficially aware of the attire of others, clothing does communicate. Colors and fabrics are coordinated to send messages just as words are put together to form sentences (Fowles, 1974).



Traditionally, dress has been used to identify the sexes. In addition, distinctive costumes were worn to indicate rigid hierarchical groups. Today's changing Western culture does not follow these "tagging patterns." Dress that used to denote gender is now being challenged by such changes as the popularity of pant suits with women. The business suit, once meant for executive men only, is now the appropriate dress for most of the business world, men and women.

Most persons would avoid showing up for an important job interview dressed in jeans and a tattered shirt. Although outward appearance does not indicate one's knowledge, values or philosophy, it does influence people in their assessment of others. Dress does communicate, even though in most cases it is only a veneer, easily seen through.

Teachers should remember that dress is only an extension of true feelings. Students judge instructors by their motivation, sincerity and fairness and will only momentarily be fooled by clothing. A "sourpuss" can't be turned into a lively, dynamic teacher by wearing a $200 suit. In terms of nonverbal communication, a smile is worth ten times whatever would be paid for clothes.

Summary

Today's educators are surrounded by many communication processes, many avenues of expression. Nonverbal communication is a powerful aid that must be recognized if the learning environment is to be enhanced to the fullest extent.

We communicate every second of the day through verbal and nonverbal channels. Even when listening, we can communicate a level of sincere interest in the topic being discussed. If effective communication is to be achieved in today's schools, teachers and students must possess the ability to send and receive messages accurately. Part of the problem of communication in the classrooms is created by teacher dominance of conversation, usually in the forms of lecturing and giving directions (Amidon and Flanders, 1967) to those whose abilities to listen are as yet untrained. Listening is a difficult art that must be nurtured through practice and patience. A good teacher is generally a good listener, not only to words being spoken but also to nonverbal cues.

Awareness of nonverbal messages does not mean that teachers should be trying to "psych out" the true meaning of all silent cues. These nonverbal expressions are often nothing more than habits exhibited by the sender. They have no implicit meaning and should not be considered out of context. Nonverbal awareness simply implies a conscious effort to employ all sense modes in receiving and sending messages. The ability to read or "hear" nonverbal messages is essential if good communication is to be achieved between teachers and students.

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By M. JOHN RAND and FRANKLYN O. TAYLOR

Why Group?

WHY GROUP? THIS QUESTION, A CLASSICAL ONE FOR TEACHERS, IS MOST often debated as an end rather than a means. Grouping is an alternative solution to a problem—"Maximum growth for each individual learner in terms of a specific learning objective." Is the specific learning objective a common need to more than one child in the class? By grouping, will learning be enhanced for those involved? Grouping is an accommodation to improve learning efficiency.

From time to time society redefines its broad educational goals. The revolutions in science and technology, the explosion of knowledge and population, the speed of change—all have challenged the traditional goal of an acquired body of knowledge and the virtue of the passive conformist. Knowledge has become the means to the ability to think, to solve problems, and to select alternatives. The ability to adapt to change has become the virtue. Learning how to learn—a process—is more important to society than the answers to questions. Grouping takes on new significance when one thinks of it not only as a means to cluster common problems but as the social context in which thinking and interacting can take place.

If we accept the redefined goals of education, we must redefine learner objectives in light of these goals and in measurable terms. We have never defined the product of our school program sufficiently to be able to tell what effects grouping—team teaching and other kinds of grouping—have upon that product. We find ourselves debating on various means without formulating assessable educational objectives. There is little evidence to show that being more scientific about our business will destroy creativity or human relations in our working environment. The validity of grouping as a means must rest on the relevance of measurable learner objectives to contemporary societal and learner needs.

Learning is an individual matter. Effective grouping can be achieved only through an intimate knowledge of each child in relation to a learning objective. It must be relevant to each participant as he confronts a problem, sees meaning in it, and is desirous of a solution. When a small group of children has a common problem or need, the self-image of the individual can be protected by small group work on weaknesses and large group work on strengths. However, in grouping we should keep in mind that nothing is so unequal as the equal treatment of unequals.

Some learner objectives will require a social or group context for attainment. One danger of such group participation is its tendency to demand conformity. The protection of the nonconformist, within reasonable bounds, is the challenge of the classroom teacher if creative talent is to flower. More often the teacher will group for individual needs as they relate to a particular pattern of attainment with a specific educational goal.

The classroom teacher must make the decisions regarding grouping *for what, when, for whom,* and *why.* Efficiency in the management of learning demands that the school provide the teacher with maximum flexibility and support systems. Major efforts should be made to eliminate impediments to the continuous and effective diagnosis of learning for each individual. The diagnostic center in a school should utilize modern technology, when available, to quickly retrieve information vital to the teacher in decision-making.

Effective learning conditions provide the teacher with a wide variety of alternatives in accomplishing individual learner objectives. Library and media centers, resource centers in special subject areas, and open laboratories for explorations may accommodate both the individual and small groups in problem-solving. Unless he is provided with the necessary assistants to handle paraprofessional and nonprofessional duties, the classroom teacher has an unmanageable task.

In grouping, an equally important consideration is the efficient use of composite teaching talents in a school toward meeting specific pupil needs. A teacher cannot be all things to all children. He will have strengths and weaknesses, likes and dislikes, just like the children. He should not feel guilty if he has no affinity to certain aspects of modern math (or linguistics) demanded by a group within his class. He should feel guilty if, in meeting these special needs, he has not considered the availability of other teachers in the school who have such affinity.

We should not apologize for subjective judgment regarding the effectiveness of classroom organization. Individualization and socialization (educating for new products in human relations and human understanding) are ideals toward which we strive. The important thing is that we focus on individual children and their needs. We establish learner objectives that are valid in terms of needs, meaningful and measurable; we organize a set of alternatives to achieve specific objectives that provide adventure and meaning for each individual; and we freely organize for the child according to alternatives purposeful to him.

Effective grouping will come from teacher willingness to explore alternatives. Grouping strategies must come from meaningful learner objectives based on intimate knowledge of individual needs of the child. Variations in grouping must provide for individual differences in teachers as well as in children. An open, flexible school environment in which the teacher has freedom to make grouping decisions should be the distinct contribution to effective learning.

Why group? Only the teacher in intimate knowledge of his individual pupils and their educational goals can adequately answer the question.

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By GEORGE C. HARLOW

The Silent Teacher —The Workbook

George C. Harlow is director of religious education, Temple Judea, Skokie, Illinois.

THOUGH THE WRITER IS PRIMARILY A religious educator, the remarks made in this article are applicable to educational programs in many public schools in the country. A number of years ago, upon entering the field of education in both public and private religious schools, I discovered workbooks were in vogue. Since the course of study required the use of this type of material, I used it; but I soon discovered that many teachers were using the workbook as a substitute teacher. In my own classes there was a great deal lost in discussion, in meaning and in carry-over values. It was apparent that the workbook did not adequately help the student, either in better organization of his work, in preparation for better study habits or in basic review of material. Instead it created a poor teaching experience and encouraged many teachers in doing less than adequate preparation and teaching.

When I became director of religious education, many of the teachers were using workbooks on the premise that two and one-half hours of class time were not sufficient to cover all the material required. Through workbooks better home preparation would be achieved, but it became evident that by having workbooks the teacher was not as well prepared for class as he should have been. I immediately threw out these books; the teachers found themselves required to prepare more carefully and to develop a greater variety of classroom experiences. A better program resulted.

Recently, upon opening an American history workbook used by an eleventh grade, I noted that the teacher had checked the page as having been completed correctly. One statement in the workbook read, "Jack and Jill went up the hill to fetch a pail of Gettysburg." Another statement read, "Jack and Jill went up the hill to fetch a pail of poetry." I asked the user of the workbook, an honor roll student, what was the meaning of the nonsense answers. She replied that the teacher did not read the page but looked to see that there was something written on each line and, if there was, marked the page correct.

Escape for Unprepared Teachers

There is a definite trend toward the overuse of this type of educational material. Some instructors and school administrators have indicated that the workbook is needed to assist the slow learner in drill and the average student in locating information more adequately. In reality the workbook provides escape for the teacher who is not fully prepared or who feels he has other more pressing problems. In looking into the matter, I find that workbooks are one of the mainstays of some publishers. Many schools use two and three in a single subject. In one fourth-grade class I found two workbooks in use in arithmetic simultaneously. In passing through the hall with the principal of a school I was visiting, I overheard this comment from a teacher: "Today I shall be very busy and so you are to work in your workbooks and bring them all up to date. Do not bother me with your questions; read the directions. They will tell you what to do." Later I learned that this class used nine workbooks in the various subjects taught.

One of the better reading series is accompanied by a workbook, wherein each exercise has the objective of attempting to build on the reading material of the text. In the first grade there is an exercise on accented syllables in which the child is expected to place a dot on the part of the word which is accented. I asked five children—all at the upper level of their class—to do the same thing as in the workbook with a page from a story in the text which they had at that time not read. Not one could complete the assignment. When I showed them the page in the workbook and asked how they were able to do so well with that, the answer I received was that it was something they had to do and then it was forgotten. The teacher had made no attempt to discuss the material, to assist the children, or to see that there was a carry-over to other reading programs.

Several Meanings

Another fault in workbooks is that in some instances the instructions are ambiguous and that although questions may have several meanings or answers, only one is considered right (that one being the answer in the teacher's guide or the one the teacher chooses). Still another fault is that an assignment may refer to a specific page or pages for securing the answer, and one finds that the answer is located two or three pages beyond the assignment. Any program of study using the textbook as a base of reference should not be a copybook type of program but an experience which builds on the basic material. If a workbook does not serve this basic function, it has no reason for existing. If a teacher cannot make up his own series of questions in arithmetic, then there is no reason to have prepared the series in the first place. If a workbook in history cannot build on the text material, it should not exist.

Workbooks as educational tools reduce the effectiveness of the class and the effectiveness of the teacher; they reduce the effort the teacher must put forth to help the student gain a mastery of the material; they permit laxity and subterfuge in the pupil, resulting in poor education.

* * *

> . . . MUCH EDUCATION TODAY IS MONUMENTALLY INEFFECTIVE. ALL too often we are giving young people cut flowers when we should be teaching them to grow their own plants. We are stuffing their heads with the products of earlier innovation rather than teaching them how to innovate. We think of the mind as a storehouse to be filled rather than as an instrument to be used.—JOHN GARDNER

> *"Finally we have learned some facts about the brain that have profound implications for everyday classroom practice."*

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Educating Both Halves of the Brain

David Galin, M.D.

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATORS have long hoped that research on the brain would illuminate the process of education, but until recently the great advances and breakthroughs in brain research have been of interest only to neuroscientists. Finally we have learned some facts about the brain that have profound implications for everyday classroom practice. It appears that our schools have been focusing most of their resources on tutoring only the left half of the brain. To develop all of a child's capabilities we must have curricula and materials for *both* sides of the brain, and we must cultivate the ability to use these two different minds in a complementary way.

Two Minds in One Head

The two cerebral hemispheres in humans are specialized for different cognitive functions—the left for verbal and analytic thought, the right for intuition and for understanding patterns. When the two hemispheres are surgically disconnected, they each appear conscious; i.e., two separate conscious minds in one head. Not only are they separate minds, but because of their specialization they are different—not duplicate—minds. These conclusions have been extensively documented.

Numerous experiments have demonstrated this specialization in normal people. The study of how the two half-brains cooperate or interfere with each other has just begun. In the normal person with intact connections between the hemispheres, are these systems smoothly integrated? Or do they alternate in control, taking turns directing behavior? Clearly, there are possibilities for both cooperation and for conflict. Although many uncertainties remain, enough is known to begin considering educational policies and practices within the framework of what we do understand about the brain.

Two Modes of Knowing

The dual aspects of our consciousness have been pointed out for thousands of years in literature, philosophy, art and religion: there is more than one way of knowledge, more than one way of validating experience. In addition to the linear, logical approach that proceeds piecemeal, step by step, there is another mode that is intuitive and holistic and that grasps the relations between the parts directly rather than by a sequence of deductions.

Clinical and experimental studies lead us to conclude that these two ways of knowing are related to the specialization of the two cerebral hemispheres (Bogen, 1969; Galin, 1975; Ornstein and Galin, 1975; Sperry, 1974). It has been known for a hundred years that in typical right-handers the left hemisphere is specialized for spoken language and its derivatives, reading and writing. A large injury to the left hemisphere will usually destroy these capacities. An injury to the right hemisphere, however, does not usually interfere with speech; and for a long time the right hemisphere was considered to be just a rather stupid spare for the left. The specialization of the right hemisphere has only recently been widely recognized: it is very good at perceiving and expressing novel and complex visual, spatial and musical patterns. A person with a large right-hemisphere injury might have trouble copying a geometric figure, matching a design with wooden blocks, recognizing faces (even his own), or recognizing melodies. These tasks all require that the person keep in mind an overall pattern of relations, not just the separate parts.

It is important to emphasize that what most characterizes the hemispheres is not that they are specialized to work with different types of material—the left with words and the right with spatial forms; rather, each hemisphere is specialized for a different cognitive style—the left for an analytic, logical mode, for which words are an excellent tool, and the right for a holistic, gestalt mode, which happens to be particularly suitable for spatial relations.

The verbal-analytic style is extremely efficient for dealing with the object world. Our modern technology, standard of living and scientific achievements depend heavily on highly developed linear, analytic methods.

The holistic mode of information processing is very good for bridging gaps; we can perceive a pattern even when some of the pieces are missing. In contrast, a logical, sequential mode cannot skip over gaps. In this imperfect world, since we are usually trying to operate with incomplete information, we very badly need to have a capacity to perceive general patterns and jump across gaps in present knowledge.

Complementarity or Conflict

The analytic and holistic modes are complementary; each provides a dimension that the other lacks. Artists, scientists, mathematicians, writing about their own creativity, report that their work is based on a smooth integration of both modes. If we want to cultivate creativity, it appears that we must first develop each mode, both the rational-analytic and the intuitive-holistic; second, we must develop the ability to inhibit either one when it is inappropriate to the task at hand; and finally we must be able to operate in both modes in a complementary fashion.

However, the two modes may also be in conflict; some mutual antagonism is evident between the analytic and the holistic. The tendency of the left hemisphere to note details in a form suitable for expression in words seems to interfere with the perception of the overall patterns. This mutual interference has been suggested as the reason our brains evolved with these two systems segregated into separate hemispheres.

Use of the inappropriate mode for a task may account for some common problems. Personally speaking, my difficulties with dancing may be related to my excessive reliance on analytic sequential processes; instead of allowing a smooth synthesis of the separate parts, I have not been able to progress past counting "one . . . two . . . THREE . . . , one . . . two . . . THREE. Similarly, an excessive or inappropriate use of the holistic mode could interfere with learning to read or with carrying out sequential arithmetic calculations, such as balancing a checkbook.

Experimental evidence of interference between the right and left cognitive modes provides a new kind of support for Orton's hypothesis that lack of cerebral lateral specialization plays a major role in dyslexia and stuttering. This hypothesis has continued to sustain interest since the 1930s, in spite of a lack of convincing direct evidence. Until recently it was difficult to test this theory, because the only generally available index of cerebral lateralization was handedness, which is only indirectly connected with cognitive lateralization. According to this theory, people with little hand-preference were considered to be "high risk." The incidence of left-handed or ambidextrous people in clinical categories such as stuttering, dyslexia and specific learning disability is usually found to be higher than in the normal population. New simple methods using brain wave recording (EEG) are now available for studying lateralization of cognitive function. These methods can provide a much more direct and presumably more sensitive means for investigating disorders of laterality than measures based on hand, eye or foot dominance.

Cognitive Style: Individual and Cultural Differences

Difficulties may arise not only from a failure to develop lateral specialization but also from individual or cultural differences in preferred cognitive style. A pupil's difficulty with one part of a curriculum may arise from his reluctance to choose the cognitive mode appropriate to the work he is doing. Several investigators have found that subcultures within the United States are characterized by a predominant cognitive mode: the middle class are likely to use the verbal-analytic mode; the urban poor are more likely to use the spatial-holistic mode (Cohen, 1969; Lesser, 1971). This dichotomy results in a cultural conflict of cognitive style and may in part explain the difficulties of urban poor children in a school system oriented toward the middle class.

Educators are now apparently recognizing the importance of both modes of experiencing the world, as exemplified by Jerome Bruner's book, *On Knowing: Essays for the Left Hand* (1965). Many new programs (e.g., "Sesame Street") emphasize helping verbal-analytically oriented children develop holistic mode skills as well as helping holistically oriented children make use of the traditional verbal-analytic materials. Future progress in EEG biofeedback research may make it feasible to train a child to enter both cognitive modes appropriately. An individual may be able to learn to sustain a pattern of brain activity and the concomitant cognitive mode appropriate to reading and arithmetic on the one hand and painting and construction on the other.

Understanding specialization of the hemispheres gives us a new perspective on valuable individual differences that are sometimes interpreted as defects. The eminent neurologist Norman Geschwind (1972) recently observed:

> One must remember that practically all of us have a significant number of special learning disabilities. . . . For example, I am grossly unmusical and cannot carry a tune. . . . We happen to live in a society in which the child who has trouble learning to read is in difficulty. Yet we have all seen some dyslexic children who draw much better than controls; i.e., who have either superior visual-perception or visual-motor skills. My suspicion would be that in an illiterate society such a child would be in little difficulty and might in fact do better because of his superior visual-perception talents, while many of us who function well here might do poorly in a society in which a quite different array of talents was needed to be successful. . . . As the demands of society change, will we acquire a new group of "minimally brain-damaged"?

Joseph Bogen (1975) has extended this observation, commenting that, to the extent that our society has overemphasized analytic left-hemisphere skills at the expense of holistic right-hemisphere skills, much more is involved than the adjustment difficulties of isolated individuals. It appears that the entire student body is being educated lopsidedly.

Cognitive Development

This perspective may also be of use in understanding the sequence of cognitive development. We now know that certain anatomical differences between the hemispheres are present at birth and that some lateral specialization has been shown behaviorally in very young children. However, the organization of the brain is very plastic in children: since brain injuries before the age of twelve rarely result in permanent aphasia, we can reasonably suppose that the lateralization of cognitive functions is still in flux after the acquisition of speech and even after the acquisition of written language.

Maturation of the child's cognitive power may be paralleled by, and perhaps even depend upon, increasing lateral specialization and integration. The corpus callosum, the great bridge of nerve fibers that connects the two hemispheres, is not mature at birth; it is not completely developed until at least age four and perhaps not until after age ten. We can surmise that, as the capacity for direct interchange between hemispheres develops, there will be stages of relative equilibrium and others of relative turmoil. Perhaps these stages will be found to correspond with the landmarks in cognitive development described by Piaget and others.

These are some of the areas in which we can see that the dual nature of the brain has direct implications for education. Many other avenues are potentially fruitful for speculation; for example, we may consider how the learning process of the two hemispheres may be affected differently by various daily schedules and school calendars, by the arrangement of the school building and the seating arrangement or lack of arrangement in the classroom, and by opportunities or restrictions on gross physical movement.

Our present understanding of the brain can contribute to developing education research and theory and to everyday classroom practice. The purpose of these remarks is not to turn educators into brain researchers; rather, it is to encourage educators of all sorts—classroom teachers, administrators and researchers—to build on their experience and to consider educational problems and opportunities within the framework of what is now known about the specialization and interaction of the two halves of the brain.

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Creative Learning Environments for the Middle School

Robert S. Jones and C. Kenneth McEwin

BUILT ENVIRONMENTS for children are usually designed by adults, for adult use and for adult convenience. Consequently, such environments may not meet the needs of the children who inhabit them. This has been particularly true of schools used by children in the transescent stage, which begins prior to the onset of puberty and extends through the early stages of adolescence.

The transition from the primary classroom to the middle school almost always requires a major psychological adjustment for children. Yet school designs seldom serve to support the child during this transition. It would appear that educators plan activities and design curricula independent of their environmental setting.

Indoor space designs for transescents are patterned after those provided for high school students. Consequently, they fail to fit the behavior patterns of transescents. They tend to ignore psychological needs for small spaces that accommodate independent study, learning and social interaction, as well as the need for solitude during quiet time.

The transescent, no less than the young child, needs adequate space for movement and exploration. Classroom designs that require pupils to remain seated for long periods of time are unrealistic in terms of what we know about early adolescent growth and development.

Transescents have need to touch, explore and manipulate, to become intimately involved in encounter with their environment. Too often educators proceed as though all middle school youngsters have reached a formal stage of intellectual development characterized solely by abstract reasoning. On the contrary, abundant data support a primary need for hands-on activities that facilitate the learning process. An excellent starting point, and perhaps a major safeguard for designers of middle school learning spaces, is to create environments responsive to human needs. A responsive environment allows children (1) to explore freely, (2) to be aware of the consequences of their behavior, and (3) to learn at their own rates.

Need for Flexibility

Recent educational interest in more open and flexible middle schools has brought about strategies that focus on individualized instruction, grouping based on special needs, independent projects for pupils, team teaching arrangements, and flow of pupils within learning environments based on need and pupil choice. Such strategies suggest changes in physical environments for the middle school.

In our concern for planning indoor space, we have tended to neglect outdoor playground design. Consequently, playgrounds often are equipped with the same large definitive structures of preassembled modular equipment present a decade or more ago. The other extreme is characterized by middle schools with barren playgrounds and an almost total absence of anything that

An urgent call for planning environments that respond to the behavioral needs and learning styles of children in that developmental stage known variously as early adolescence, preadolescence or transescence.

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might encourage play. Outdoor play areas, as much as those inside the classroom, should be a natural part of the child's learning environment. Architectural provisions need to allow for easy access from one area to the other. Exploring the outdoor environment or digging in the earth is essential for a complete environmental experience. For example, planting a garden may promote activities that stimulate learning in science, economics, mathematics and language arts.

Physical development of children is also promoted by more expansive outdoor spaces for running, jumping and climbing. In addition, transescents experience a psychological freedom in moving out of a classroom that naturally imposes restrictions on movement. Middle school educators could greatly profit from an examination of the adventure playgrounds concept. Filled with boards, bricks and discarded materials of every kind and description, the adventure playgrounds in Europe stand in marked contrast to the neatly arranged and starkly barren playgrounds in the United States. To a large degree, outdoor areas continue to be equipped with seesaws, swings, climbing bars and sliding boards, or nothing at all.

The age of technological and professional specialization has brought with it a disintegrating influence among those whose collaboration is urgently required for optimal environmental planning. Nowhere is the need for generalists and interdisciplinarians greater than in the field of architecture. The architect stands in a particular relationship to the client with whom he/she collaborates, whether the need is for home, office, industry, school or outdoor area. The architect produces designs from ideas, stopped at some point in time, which allow for physical translation into completed structures. But the inhabitants of built environments and the activities that take place in them are in process, neither stopped in time nor ever completed. In school design, for example, an architect plans a finished physical plant to contain an educational process that undergoes continuous change. Architect and client seem to stand in opposition to one another—one faced with translating ideas into physical actuality, the other with accommodating human growth and process in built environments. Inevitably, the results will be unsatisfactory if either abdicates responsibility for negotiating reasonable compromise.

Styles of Learning

A coming together of these polarized points of view is vital if built environments are to meet children's needs. Also vital is a need for educators to stop looking at learning strictly as content: the expressive mode of school architecture may be seen as reflecting only that viewpoint. A necessary starting point in planning middle school learning environments is concern for the ways in which transescents learn. The following

Photographs courtesy of authors

suggest ways in which environments may respond to learning styles:

☐ *Transescents learn through doing.* Provide ample space for movement involved in exploration, manipulation and experimentation; provide space for activities related to hobbies and interest groups.

☐ *Transescents learn through conversing and interacting with peers.* Plan space design that allows for places to accommodate small groups.

☐ *Transescents learn through reading.* Provide carefully designed reading areas with a variety of reading materials in such a way that each classroom has its own "mini-library."

☐ *Transescents learn through seeing and listening.* Provide a media center, study carrel, listening center with earphones and small projection rooms.

☐ *Transescents learn through role-playing and fantasy.* Include space in school design for dramatic activities that provide opportunities for trying out for roles, for gaining insights into the behaviors of others, and for exploring feelings. In a major sense, such space helps to create a psychological environment that allows for healthy personality development.

☐ *Transescents learn through independent thinking and investigation.* Provide quiet areas and small spaces for individual study—an important mode of learning.

☐ *Transescents learn through exploring natural and created environments.* Expand classroom walls to include the world outside, thus extending the transescents' world and enabling greater understanding of ecological and sociological concerns.

☐ *Transescents learn through vigorous body movement.* Provide large spaces, indoors and outdoors, for movement and release of substantial amounts of energy.

☐ *Transescents vary greatly in development, needs and learning styles.* Plan learning environments that are flexible enough to respond to individual differences.

Checklist for Teachers

Given the particular psychological and behavioral needs of transescents and the wide variety of learning styles identified here, there is a need for some systematic evaluation of school environments. To be effective, the learning climate must be based on the characteristics of the students who inhabit them. The following checklist may serve as a useful and simple means by which teachers can determine how well their own classrooms rate as a good place for learning.

Environmental Feature	*Good*	*Average*	*Poor*	*No Provisions*
1. Ample space for movement				
2. Areas for exploration				
3. Wide variety of easily accessible materials				
4. Activity areas for hobbies and interest groups				
5. Activity areas easily defined				
6. Bulletin boards and work displayed				
7. Places for small groups				
8. Mini-library				
9. Reading areas				
10. Private carrels or listening center				
11. Media center				
12. Areas for drama and role play				
13. Quiet areas				
14. Availability and access to outside areas				
15. Large spaces for vigorous body movement, both indoors and outdoors				
16. Environmental flexibility				

Conclusion

Although the checklist above focuses on physical features of the environment, a number of other factors associated with the learning climate are equally significant. Without them even the best physical facility will fail to provide an appropriate climate for learning. Donald Eichhorn* suggests some that seem essential. The environment must be: (1) learner-centered, (2) creative, (3) industrious, (4) flexible, (5) dynamic, (6) friendly, (7) exploratory, (8) loving/caring and (9) disciplined.

The need for focusing more closely on learning environments in middle schools is apparent as we move toward realizing the most ideal places in which to educate transescent youngsters. School planners and administrators, linked in their thinking to traditional and conservative ideas of school classrooms, must now take the leadership in designing environments that most accurately respond to our present knowledge of the behavioral needs and learning styles of transescents. Any delay in narrowing the gap between knowledge and practice does serious injustice to children and to those who have sought to create exciting and rewarding middle schools.

Very few plants thrive in infertile soil. Very few middle school students will reach their full potential in rigid, noncreative learning environments. It is hoped that the brief, and certainly limited, ideas presented here will (1) raise the level of awareness among those responsible for the development of middle school education and (2) stimulate widespread interest in investigating further the learning needs of transescents and the environments provided for them.

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* Eichhorn, Donald H. "The Power of an Idea," *Journal of the North Carolina League of Middle/Junior High Schools*, 1979.

Love and Sex

Can We Talk About That in School?

Paul C. Vance

"Love—I thought that was something we couldn't talk about in school!" This was the response of a 5th-grade boy to his mother's question, prompted by her amazement at her son's uncharacteristic excitement about his homework. It seems his teacher had assigned her 5th-graders the task of writing a short essay on the subject of "love."

The writer is struck by this boy's perception that "love" is a forbidden topic for discussion within the school classroom. In a sense it is an indictment of our school system, if we have in fact so avoided the subject of love—the one most pervasive of human needs—that our children have gained the impression "that it can't (even) be talked about in school."

Love stands at the center of all other needs in making healthy human beings. Love, in its broadest context, means the communication of one's deep involvement in the caring for and welfare of another. It encompasses not only concern and caring for those to whom one is most intimately related but also for all of humankind. It implies compassion and the desire to offer a helping hand to those in need. Love also includes respect for the rights and dignity and individual differences of others and an overwhelming need to eliminate injustice wherever it is found. Love is accepting and practicing human responsibility and it must be taught in the schools. As the respected anthropologist Ashley Montague (1968) has so well stated, "Our schools must become institutes for the teaching of human responsibility, with this as the primary purpose of education, and instruction in the three Rs as purely secondary in their main purpose."

This brings the writer to the subject of this article—teenage pregnancy and sex education in the schools. One does not have to stretch the point too far to relate this topic to love and responsibility. Unfortunately, far too many males view love and sex as one and the same and females as little more than sexual objects, debasing the most important of all human relations—the ability to love. Some women, too, have equated sex with love, borne of their desire for belonging and need for security. The end result is a frightening problem of epidemic proportions in the United States. The statistics bear this out (Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1981):

☐ More than 1 million teenagers get pregnant every year.

☐ Four in ten young women will get pregnant at least once while still in their teens.

☐ About 12 million of the 29 million young people between the ages of 13 and 19 have had sexual intercourse.

☐ On the average, teenagers begin sexual activity at about age 16.

☐ Thirty-three percent of 15- to 17-year-old females and nearly 50 percent of comparable young men are sexually active.

☐ Even 10- to 14-year-old youth are sexually active. Six percent of girls and 18 percent of boys aged 13 to 14 have had sexual intercourse.

☐ Teenagers represent only 18 percent of sexually active women capable of becoming pregnant, but they account for 46 percent of all out-of-wedlock births and 31 percent of all abortions.

☐ There are 1.3 million children now living with teenage mothers, about half of whom are unmarried.

☐ An additional 1.6 million children under age 5 are living with mothers who were teenagers when they gave birth.

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The above statistics represent but the "tip of the iceberg" in the sociological and medical aspects of the problem of "babies having babies." Grace Naismith (1977) summarizes it well when she states:

> Consequences of too early parenthood for *mothers* include the facts that only 11 percent of mothers 13-15 years of age go on to graduate from high school, one-third live below poverty level and end up on welfare, and suicide attempts by school-age mothers are seven times the national percentage for teenage girls without children. The consequences for the *fathers* are that if they marry the girl they often have to interrupt schooling and job training, may suffer from extreme guilt, and are legally obliged to support the child until it is 18, as long as it remains his child.
>
> The consequences for the *child* include such facts as the mortality rates for these infants, when the mothers are under 15, are more than twice as high as those for babies born to mothers in their twenties; these children are more likely to be born prematurely; birth defects such as breathing difficulties, neurological impairment, epilepsy, and mental retardation are more frequent; and child abuse and neglect is more common among young fathers and mothers. The consequence to all of *society* is reflected in the fact that we spend an estimated $2,250 each year to support a mother and one child on welfare, and it does not end there; for many school-age mothers become pregnant again—one-seventh of all girls who give birth to a child before they are eighteen are giving birth to their second or third child.

As is the case when the nation is faced with any epidemic (and that surely is what teenage pregnancy has become), we look for causes. In doing so we might borrow from a medical model and look at the etiological factors from the standpoint of the *host*, the *agent* and the *environment*.

The **host** in the problem of teenage pregnancy is the ovulating or fertile teenage female, approximately 13 to 18 years of age. Attributes of the teenage girl that make her very vulnerable include her ignorance and naivete of reproduction; curiosity in and desire for a "loving, close relationship"; susceptibility, by nature of her immaturity, to peer and societal pressures that allow experimentation with sex; lack of motivation to take responsibility to prevent pregnancy; feelings of low self-esteem and poor self-image; fear of asking for help in preventing pregnancy; and inner feelings of denial based on false assumptions that "it can never happen to me."

The causes—or more specifically, the **agent** that initiates the problem of teenage pregnancy and plays on the teenage girl's susceptibility—are manifold. The foremost physical cause of pregnancy is, of course, sexual intercourse; but this in itself has many agents leading to its occurrence. These agents include pressure from peers and society to engage in and explore sexual activity, lack of available knowledge in contraceptives and reproduction and an unsatisfactory interpersonal relationship with family members.

Margaret Markham (1976) speaks to the agent of peer and societal pressure by relating that, "Our culture prods youngsters toward sexual experimentation and the achievement, they believe, of independence and instant maturity." And amidst all of this pressure, states Professor Jerry J. Bigner, "There has been all too little effort to make youngsters aware of the physical and social consequences of active sexuality and what having a baby means in a real life situation."

An unsatisfactory interpersonal relationship with family members is probably the single most prevalent factor leading to teenage pregnancy. Evidently if teenage girls are not able to have their love and attention needs met within the family structure, they must turn to another to meet these needs—namely, the male partner. Pregnant teenage girls and their sex partners repeatedly say the major motivation for their behavior was the urge for togetherness, love and belonging.

When one looks at the **environmental factors** that influence the problem, three conditions stand out:

☐ Certainly implicated is a poverty-filled environment. Within the milieu of inadequate education and poverty, childbearing may be sought deliberately simply because few acceptable roles are available to girls who have otherwise been made to feel unable to achieve success in a competitive society.

☐ Second, in the absence of adequate sex information and when bombarded by sex everywhere—on TV, in magazines, newspapers, movies, and in the behavior of their parents and peers—children act out their own sexuality.

☐ Finally, a stressful family environment is a prime contributor. For whatever reasons, broken homes lack parental control; inattention to preadolescent and adolescent development and unmet psychological needs lead to a sense of isolation and loneliness manifesting itself in seeking love and attention elsewhere.

When *host*, *agent* and *environment* are all brought together, the following scenario offered by Edith Tankson (1976) summarizes most vividly the situation leading to teenage pregnancy:

> A fertile, teenage girl has been brought up in a poverty area where the future looks grim and goals in life are rarely acquired. She comes from a family—possibly a broken family, where she receives inadequate love, attention, and support because the family is caught up in the crisis of everyday living and has no time to meet the needs of a young girl at a very precocious stage in life. She is surrounded by young friends and neighbors who are having children and possibly frowning on her because she has none, and she is constantly exposed to the pressures of society through the mass media which says "love is the answer, sex is the way."
>
> Because this young, naive girl is very vulnerable—knows little of real love; where babies come from; how to stop their coming; has great fear in asking such questions and has no one to ask; has a strong curiosity and desire for love, attention, and a feeling of being needed and a sense of purpose; and feels the need to experiment with this "new body" she has acquired—she is confronted by a young suggestive male who offers her the opportunity to fulfill all of her needs and desires. And because she is not happy with the way life is now, sees no future, is unaware of the consequences of such an action nor has the means nor the courage to prevent such results, and is surrounded by friends who are engaging in and seeming to enjoy what she is about to do, she is compelled to engage in sexual intercourse with the male.

It is relatively easy to research the causes of the problem, but to find solutions is much more difficult. Can the problem be solved? The solution is not simple or single-faceted. Certainly a much more concentrated effort on the part of all—parents, teenagers, educators, community members—must be undertaken in dealing with the problem of teenage pregnancy.

The most obvious role schools can play in contributing to the solution of the problem is to provide a formal sex education curriculum designed for pupils from kindergarten through 12th grade. This is not to deny that sex education starts in the home. Parental influence molds children's feelings about themselves and about sexual behavior. Sex education, however, traditionally considered a function of the home, is increasingly becoming the responsibility of the schools for some very sound reasons: 1) because they are either unwilling or unable, or both, parents are not providing adequate sex education for their children; 2) schools have accurate information not always available to parents; and 3) skilled professionals have available resources such as films, charts and books to supplement the instruction.

In spite of overwhelming evidence that the American public believes sex education should be taught in the schools, only three states (Kentucky, Maryland and New Jersey) and the District of Columbia mandate sex education in the public schools. This in spite of a 1980 Gallup poll that showed 87 percent of the public polled supported public school instruction in marriage and family living!

Continued opposition to sex education in the schools appears due to two popular misconceptions—that sex education is instruction in fornication and that sex education encourages sexual experimentation. Quite the opposite seems to be the case, however. A 1979 nationwide study found that those who had sex education were no more likely to be sexually active than those who had not, but that teens who had sex education were more likely to use contraceptives and less likely to become pregnant (Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1981).

When they encompass the following broad general principles, sex education programs in the schools seem destined for the greatest acceptance and success:

1. Sex education must include information on attitudes and values as well as just factual information. Students must be led to understand sex in relation to personality needs of love and belonging and to accept sex as natural and normal. Fear has no place in sex education, but realistic information must be given regarding social and psychological dangers of promiscuous sexual behavior.

2. Sex education should be presented, whenever possible, in a family context.

3. Sex education should be approached in an honest, clear, calm and dignified manner. Precise language is important. Misconceptions must be clarified and children's questions must be answered truthfully. There should not be a hint of false shame or embarrassment.

4. Sex education in the schools should begin in kindergarten and should continue in an age-appropriate and developmental fashion through 12th grade.

This brings us back to our 5th-grade boy and his essay on love, with which this article was introduced. Our children must feel free to discuss love in school and certainly this means love in the context of sex education as well.

Again, no one has put it better than Montague (1968):

> The first thing I would teach our developing citizen is that the most important quality of a human being is the ability to relate himself to others in a warm, loving manner, and as one who is capable of using his mind as the finely analytical instrument it is capable of becoming, joining knowledge, understanding, sensitivity and responsibility to loving kindness.
>
> And where does one begin making the required changes? The answer is clear and unequivocal: in oneself. A teacher cannot mean any more to his pupils than he means to himself. A school is an institution, and an institution is an agreement among people to behave in certain ways. How teachers agree to behave about sex education or anything else is what their schools will be and what their products will be.

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Testing, Testing and More Testing

—Juliana Montfort, Chevy Chase, MD

Vito Perrone

In 1976 the Association for Childhood Education International and the National Association of Elementary School Principals called for a moratorium on the use of standardized tests in school programs because of their indiscriminate use and deleterious effects on children and programs (Perrone, 1976). While recognizing that they were making, at best, a moral statement, ACEI and NAESP hoped that such action would encourage widespread debate.

As desired, a vigorous debate ensued, resulting in a new overall climate, one more receptive to the appropriate use of tests than any other in the last 30 years. Nonetheless, the pressures *to test* children remain high. Reflecting a belief in the power of science to improve school practice, many educators, school board members and state legislators prefer to err on the side of too much rather than too little testing. Such a stance may also be viewed as a reaction to the continuing decline of confidence in the schools.

It is helpful, then, to explore the kinds of testing children experience in the schools, the consequences of such testing and possible alternatives to testing. Test scoring mechanisms will also be discussed to effect an understanding of what has been often regarded as mysterious.

Children and Tests

Many children now undergo a variety of preschool screening activities, some related to physical development (can the child skip or stand on one foot for 20 seconds?), others to cognitive development (can the child retell a story in its proper sequence?), still others to social and environmental experience (can the child count to 10, recognize colors and shapes, manipulate a crayon or a pencil?). Often the results of these screening activities are used as a basis for cautioning parents to "wait another year before starting the child in kindergarten." They are also used as a means of early identification of individuals (essentially, labelling) "who might be expected to have difficulty in school, might need special assistance." Even in this kind of non-paper/pencil testing, those usually identified as "most in need" are either poor or from minority backgrounds. Although there is scant evidence that such early screening is beneficial for either children or schools, it is nonetheless increasing.

In kindergarten, children typically receive their first paper/pencil test, which ostensibly gauges "reading readiness." Those who score in the bottom quartile are often encouraged to spend another year in kindergarten or are placed in a K-1 transitional setting. The underlying rationale is that the child benefits from the knowledge teachers gain from this

Urging teachers and parents to oppose using test results for making important judgments about children, the author offers some alternatives to testing. Vito Perrone is Dean of the Center for Testing and Learning, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

kind of testing. When little evidence indicates, however, that reading readiness scores correlate with reading success, its use appears unwarranted.

Beginning in grade 1 and continuing through the elementary grades, children in most schools receive at a minimum (and it is important to know that many children receive many more) an annual achievement test battery such as the Metropolitan Reading Test, Metropolitan Achievement Test, California Test of Basic Skills, Stanford Achievement Test or the Iowa Test of Basic Skills. Until the past few years, most children also received two or three group IQ tests during elementary school. But group IQ tests have not fared well in the courts as placement tools; as meaningful educational instruments, they have been criticized severely. Consequently, they are being withdrawn from most school testing programs.

When achievement tests are used solely to measure children's growth from year to year, they can be relatively benign; however, the tests acquire a considerably different meaning as their purposes expand. School officials tend to find multiple uses for achievement tests as a means of justifying the cost and time involved in their administration. For example, in many school districts, how well individual children score determines whether they will be placed in a gifted and talented program or become eligible for special tutoring. The results of annual achievement testing also determine eligibility for a variety of enrichment programs, special classes, foreign language instruction and so forth.

Stratification (tracking) also occurs as an outgrowth of such testing, reflecting the belief that homogeneous achievement groups facilitate more efficient teaching. Recently, test results have sometimes been used to determine whether a child should advance from one grade to another. All in all, increased testing results in increased pressure on teachers and children. If, for example, tests play a significant role in grade advancement, teachers feel compelled to spend considerable time preparing children to take the tests. In such settings the tests *become* increasingly the school curriculum.

Unfortunately, moreover, results on a standardized test battery may not represent a particular child very well. To attach critical importance to such results is unconscionable, especially because the elementary school years represent a time of uneven growth for children. They are still developing many of the skills needed for school success; the potential loss of a child's self-esteem, therefore, should not be tolerated. After all, an educator's principal purpose is to enhance the growth of *every* child. When children are labelled "unready" or "slow learners" as an outgrowth of standardized test results, their educational opportunities generally become narrow, uninteresting and unchallenging. One-dimensional tasks such as skill sheets, workbooks and various drills figure prominently in their education.

Why should we be so cautious about test results? Tests used in grades 1 and 2 are, of course, different from those used in grades 3 through 6. The early tests are picture and vocabulary dependent, while the later ones place greater stress on content; consequently, high scores in the early testing may not carry over to the later testing. Because tests include diverse subject areas, they may or may not relate directly to what children have been taught or evoke from particular children any intrinsic interest. In addition, the multiple-choice format of standardized tests confuses many children because they are not accustomed to recording their understandings in that manner. Recognizing spelling errors, for example, does not mean that the same child can write a correctly spelled letter. For a host of reasons having little to do with their ability to read, children who read very well may select "wrong" answers from among the limited choices available. Peculiarities of testing abound: children who have been routinely encouraged to be cooperative learners are forbidden to talk while testing; children taught to work problems out slowly are told speed is essential. The message is clear: "Don't take your time—guess if necessary." Such conditions cause many children undue anxiety, even if the ultimate consequences of test-taking are not devastating.

Scoring Mechanisms

Understanding the scoring mechanisms associated with the tests also helps explain why teachers and parents should apply test results cautiously to individual children.

Test results are most often reported as percentile scores, stanine scores or grade-level equivalency scores. Forty-three correct answers (the raw score) out of 80 items on the language section of a very popular achievement test (1974 version) taken at the end of the 7th grade is converted to a *percentile* score of 52. This indicates that 52 percent of those who took the test as part of the norm population scored 43 or less and 48 percent scored higher than 43.

Stanine scores, unlike percentile scores and grade-equivalency scores, are suggestive of a range. (For this reason test publishers are increasingly encouraging their use.) A stanine score is developed by organizing percentile scores into 9 groups. A stanine score of 5, encompassing 20 percent of the percentile scores, is considered average; 40 percent of the scores will then fall above this average and 40 percent below. On the test cited above, the percentile score of 52 falls within the 5th stanine, along with all percentile scores between 40 and 60.

The *grade-level equivalency score* is derived essentially by assigning to the median raw score of a 7th-grade norm population a *grade-level equivalency* of 7.0. Scores above and below the median are assigned grade-level equivalencies above and below 7.0. These assigned grade-level scores represent an estimation, nothing more. The score of 43 on the language section of the test under discussion (taken at the end of the 7th grade), converted to a percentile score of 52 and a stanine score of 5, produces a grade-level equivalency score of 8.3 (8th grade, 3 months).

The publisher of the test from which the foregoing derivations are taken lists a *standard error* for the language section as 3.9. This standard error indicates that two-thirds of the time one could expect a raw score fluctuation of 3.9 for a given student. As the test manual notes, "We could expect with about 68 percent certainty that the true score [for a student with a raw score of 43] would fall between [39 and 47]." This is between the 44th and 60th percentiles or stanine 5; the grade-level equivalency range, on the other hand, is 7.2 to 8.9. Because these scores are very imprecise, one has to be very careful about attaching too much importance to them. The grade-level equivalency score is especially misleading, and although most test publishers discourage their use, they remain very popular in the schools.

Another Direction

Teachers and parents should insist that standardized test scores resulting from their district's testing programs *never* be the major source for *any* decision-making about a particular child. Alternatively, an evaluation process of consequence should be developed to combat growing reliance on standardized testing programs.

Educators must communicate effectively with parents and their respective communities. They must clearly state their aims regarding the basic skills and expressive arts, how they propose to achieve those aims—what procedures they plan using to assure children's acquisition and growth in basic skills and expressive arts areas—and how they will report to parents. The failure to communicate the foregoing successfully has undoubtedly been one of the reasons testing programs have become so prominent.

Teachers may directly gauge a child's progress through a systematic program of informal assessment, observation and record-keeping. This is *the basic* mechanism for responding to evaluation issues. (It is a mechanism carried out to a particularly high level in the Prospect School, North Bennington, Vermont, and reported on by Pat Carini in ACEI's *Testing and Evaluation: New Views*.)

In schools that keep consistently careful records, teachers can learn significantly about the status and pace of their children's growth in the basic skills and expressive arts from previous teachers' reports. For each child these reports might include: lists of books read, samples of writing over time, themes explored in various media, examples of mathematical concepts and applications that are understood, results of reading inventories conducted on an individual basis and summary evaluation statements about the various skill areas. The kinds of records suggested above should provide teachers with some important insights into individual children's learning levels, giving teachers a broader and more realistic array of starting points in relation to curriculum. (The standardized tests provide little that gives direction to curriculum organization.)

To personally understand as well as establish baseline data for the year, teachers might administer a variety of informal assessment exercises. In the area of reading, for example, teachers might use a published informal reading inventory (Silvaroli, 1973 or McCracken, 1976) or one that they themselves might develop (using a passage from a popular trade book enjoyed by children at the relevant grade level) to determine how well a child reads, and the kinds of difficulties experienced. These kinds of assessment activities typically ask a child to read a passage silently, describe orally what the passage is about, read the passage orally to the teacher and then add orally to their earlier description. The published forms have a scoring mechanism based upon the frequency of errors which permits the teacher to categorize the child's reading level. Parents can replicate this activity; consequently, they may discover the same insights as the teacher. Reading might also be examined by using the Miscue Analysis (developed by Yetta Goodman and Carolyn Burke, 1972), a linguistically based assessment activity which focuses on comprehension and gives teachers some direction in relation to instruction. This assessment process provides teachers with excellent information about the reading strategies that a child brings to print material.

In the areas of mathematics and writing, a variety of assessment activities can be developed easily by teachers, constructed around the curriculum materials and content related to the particular grade levels of the children. In mathematics, these might include a sampling of math symbols, computational excercises and problem-solving activities completed in a conference setting with the teacher. In writing, children might be asked to engage in several different writing activities, permitting the teacher to learn about the child's use of language, range of expression, etc. (Brenda Engel's *Handbook on Documentation*, 1975, and *Informal Evaluation*, 1977, provide numerous examples of informal assessment in all curriculum areas, as does Clara Pederson's *Informal Evaluation and Record-keeping*.)

Having established some baseline information about children's skills, interests and learning styles, teachers need to establish a record-keeping system and regularly note individual children's development during the course of the year. Included would be periodic assessment activities of the type described above, projects in writing, mathematics and art, lists of books read and understood, and audio tapes which focus on children's reading or language use. These would all address concerns about growth *over the course of an entire year*. In addition, these kinds of records should assist teachers in their instructional planning. They can use the information to determine grouping patterns or enrichment needs. Aiding the learners, after all, is the principal reason for maintaining careful records. These records can also serve as the basis for periodic conferences with and written reports for parents. The record-keeping process might additionally illustrate for parents a way that they, too, might follow their children's progress more closely.

In addition to the benefits discussed above in relation to systematic record-keeping, experience reveals that teachers who have begun to document children's learning through carefully organized records tend also to become more knowledgeable about children and learning. They become the "students of teaching" that schools need and parents desire. Teachers able to describe children's learning in *great detail* are teachers who are trusted and capable of helping reestablish parental confidence in the schools.

The above focuses on individual teachers and classrooms. The school, as a whole, also needs to address some of the same evaluation issues. The school might distribute annual reports summarizing a variety of classroom data for its parents and community. For example, how many books on the average were read by children at various grade levels? What percentage of children at each of the grade levels mastered grade level learning objectives in mathematics, reading, writing? What approaches were used to help children who were having difficulty meeting the learning objectives? How did parents respond to their children's overall experience in school and, specifically, in the basic skills and expressive arts (possibly derived from parent interviews)?

While such information could be useful to the community, it would be particularly useful to a school staff—a base for reexamining their collective efforts. If the staff note areas of particular difficulty for children, they have a basis upon which to act. By reviewing common data systematically, they can be assured that their judgments are empirically sound.

If the foregoing informal assessment and record-keeping occur systematically, the standardized tests would be clearly unjustified. If it were deemed, however, politically necessary to engage in some minimal level of standardized testing, the results of such testing could be viewed as merely another means of evaluation and would not assume the kind of significance that intimidates and distorts the educational process.

Conclusion

This article stresses the continuing potency of standardized testing in school programs, especially the schools' use of test results for increasing purposes. It argues that teachers and parents should oppose using test results for making *any* important judgment about a child. Alternatively, teachers and schools are presented with a means of entering the assessment arena systematically and beneficially, guaranteeing a greater understanding of the growth of individual children—possibly the only method of reducing the importance of testing programs.

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Section 4

The Profession

The direction in which education starts a man will determine his future life.

With this emphatic and unequivocal statement, Plato set forth a challenge to all those concerned with education. Centuries later, while few question the importance of education, many seek to define the parameters and possibilities of the profession. The authors of the articles in this section offer an excellent cross-section of ideas.

The first group focuses on the heart of the profession: teachers. Having asked the straightforward question "Do teachers make a difference?" Annabel Bixby sought the opinions of experts—her kindergartners of 20 years ago. Eighteen of 20 responded and shared insights and impressions of their kindergarten years and subsequent experiences. Other experts offer advice to teachers also. "Supply the conditions," counsels Sylvia Ashton-Warner. In a tribute written after her death, Bill Cliett shares Ashton-Warner's insights for teachers in a succinct article that provides a wealth of important advice. According to Selma Wassermann, to utilize this information, "growing and knowing" teachers are needed. Wassermann not only explains the meaning she attaches to these terms but also provides strategies for reshaping the schools. Professionals will appreciate her practical tactics, realistic approach and thoughtful counsel: "This process is not for the faint-hearted."

Reshaping the schools from the perspective of reexamining and retooling classroom practices is a challenge. Leland Jacobs focuses on educators in an article describing three kinds of teachers: schoolkeepers, instructors and composers. Expanding on these roles, Jacobs offers many insights into the meaning of teaching. Adding another perspective to this examination of classroom practices, C.W. Hunnicutt details "undebatables" in teaching children. By applying research findings to classroom situations, teachers could resolve long-standing debates about practices. Reflecting on Hunnicutt's postulates and realizing that more than two decades have passed since the writing of them, readers may gain an appreciation for the magnitude of the challenge of effecting change.

The challenge issued in this last statement is echoed in the public policy arena in an article written by national child advocate Marian Wright Edelman. Calling for the involvement of the profession in public policy, Edelman asserts: "Always in my travels I am struck by the commonality of need among children everywhere, and by our need to respond." In addition to issuing a challenge, Edelman provides information to guide professionals in influencing policymakers to promote educational opportunities for children.

Reexamining all areas of children's existence is the challenge undertaken by authors of three more articles included in this section on the profession. In a poetic and potent fashion, Agnes Snyder sets forth three principles essential in planning optimal experiences for children. Leslie Chamberlin adds at least a dozen more suggestions for creating successful environments for children. Last, but never the least bit hesitant to promote quality environments for young children, is James

Hymes, Jr. Not only does Hymes assert that "Children today need all the support we can muster for them," but he also describes the means to promote this.

Just in case our effectiveness in reviewing and renewing our profession has been limited by lack of vision, two final articles are incorporated in this section. Art Buchwald's article is included both to amuse and inspire. Perhaps by turning established practices topsy-turvy, professionals can better analyze their effectiveness and open avenues to change. In such an open-minded atmosphere, educators would be ready for Margaret Mead's discussion of "Uniqueness and Universality." Mead's article adds a contemporary commentary that complements Plato's statement quoted earlier and adds direction: "Much has yet to be invented before we will have created the kind of environment for children that will make it possible for them all to be somebodies in their own right. . . . Then our children will move forward because everyone around them is moving forward." Perhaps this is, in fact, a challenge for all professions.—**Sandra L. Robinson, College of Education, University of South Carolina, Columbia**

—Susie Fitzhugh, Baltimore, MD

Do Teachers Make a Difference?

Annabel A. Bixby

EVERY TEACHER has asked at one time or another, "How important am I? How much influence do I have upon the children who spend only one year in my classroom?" Deciding to try and find answers to these questions, I recently contacted the twenty pupils I had in kindergarten twenty years ago. I wondered if they could remember their early school experiences and how important these had been upon each child's attitude toward learning and later success in school.

I made up a questionnaire, which focused upon their specific recollections of kindergarten and early school years and the attitudes toward learning they developed in response to them. The following are representative items from the questionnaire:

> Do you remember going to kindergarten? If so, can you describe your attitudes and experiences when you went on into first grade and as you progressed through school?
>
> Were you self-confident about your ability to learn? Are you aware of any experiences that affected your self-confidence? In what ways?
>
> As an adult, how important do you think your early school experiences were toward later school success?
>
> What do you think is most important for children to learn in kindergarten and early school years?

To obtain as many responses as possible, I expanded upon these basic questions, asking the students to comment in their own way—either by answering each item or by reacting generally. I assured them that a simple, brief response would be as welcome as a long dissertation.

The responses, which far exceeded my expectations, made the efforts involved in reaching each of these students well worthwhile. Despite the barriers of time and distance (twenty years and 3,000 miles), 18 out of 20 responded through letters and tapes. In addition to the students' responses, many parents also became involved. They sent long letters concerning their children's past school experiences, present occupations and future plans, along with many valuable items, such as kindergarten progress reports, school reports and achievement awards, high school and college transcripts, SAT scores, and samples of current art work by two students who are now professional artists. My own records included test scores and drawings from their year in kindergarten, which illustrated their interests and talents. As a result, I was able to compile an in-depth study of each of the students, extending over a twenty-year period.

Current Pursuits

As adults, they have had quite different educational backgrounds and are currently involved in a wide variety of pursuits. Only a few continued in school together; most moved to other schools in different towns or states and had no further contact with one another after the year in kindergarten. I maintained some contact with a number of the students and their families until we moved 3,000 miles across the country a few years later. They are now living in many parts of the United States from Maine to California; one is in Canada. All attended at least one year of college. Most completed two or more years and ten have completed degrees. Two are currently completing graduate studies, while several others plan to complete college or graduate work in the future. All expressed satisfaction with their current occupations and future plans. Their college majors covered quite a range of interests: art, music, education, psychology, mathematics, engineering, business administration, sociology, biology, law and photography. Their present occupations include: a police officer, a chemical engineer, a plumber's apprentice, several teachers, two artists, one musician, a coast-guard executive officer, two businessmen, and two young mothers living alternative lifestyles in the woods of Maine and Canada.

Memories of Kindergarten

All but one boy, who came into the class as a refugee from East Germany, recalled their kindergarten experiences. Indeed, they remembered far more than I! The most common memories were of field trips, classroom activities such as painting, music, art projects, science experiments, dramatic play (post office, grocery store and building a train). Of particular interest is the fact that all the boys recalled building forts with *orange blocks.* (One, now a police officer, described *feeling so safe in his little fort.*) All remembered games they played both indoors and outdoors. Several recalled specific songs they had learned and musical games they played.

Special activities they recalled included making butter and stuffing a turkey for Thanksgiving dinner. All remembered the May-Day program and the part they played—a few even recalled the music itself. Many also remembered the Christmas program when they played the role of different animals. A few recalled painting their particular animal for the play.

Many described the room in great detail: one boy outlined the exact location of the tables, book and toy shelves, fireplace, piano—even the doors and windows. Others could reproduce men[illegible] pictures of the playyard in equal detail—the sundial and the monkey bars were most frequently mentioned.

Other activities frequently noted were nature projects, such as hatching chicks, planting seeds, studying snowflakes through a magnifying glass, and the day that a thousand or more tiny praying mantises hatched in the room. A few spoke of learning to write their names, letters and numbers; but, for the most part, they commented on "learning by doing" through group projects and activities.

"It was a free time and, compared to later years, perhaps the best time."

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She did the research reported herein while pursuing her Master's Degree
study at California State University, Fullerton.

The only negative experiences recalled were due to unusual circumstances, such as *being locked in the coat closet by another student* and one boy's traumatic experience when the bus driver forgot to stop at his home and he *rode the bus to the end of the line.* With these few exceptions, all reported having positive feelings about their kindergarten experiences. One boy summed up: *I remember kindergarten most of all by a feeling. It was a free time and, compared to later years, perhaps the best time. I experienced a lot. I learned a lot. The atmosphere was freer, clearer, and my curiosity and desire to learn was genuine.*

Later School Experiences

Although all these students reported having positive attitudes toward school when they left kindergarten, many described negative experiences in first grade. Two of the brightest boys had problems with teachers because they were "ahead in reading." Others reported difficulty in making the initial adjustment to the more structured first-grade classrooms. One boy wrote: *My first memories of first grade are very negative. I felt all alone and the teacher had her own desk and seemed very remote from the pupils.*

Many described incidents that occurred in the primary grades that probably seemed trivial to their teachers but to these students seemed very important. One boy traced his *conflict between making good grades and actual learning* and his need *to win approval from authority figures* to the teachers who taught him *the primary goal in school is not to make a mistake and to earn a good grade.* Others described in detail times when teachers either hurt their feelings, humiliated them in front of their classmates, or were unfair to them: small incidents that loomed large in their memories. Negative experiences with teachers were most vividly recalled and described from their early school years, while few reported such experiences in later school life.

Only one of the 18 students wrote that he or she found school to be both challenging and rewarding from kindergarten through high school! The others all became disillusioned with the "system" at some point in their school years. Most often the students with the highest grades and academic honors were the most critical—especially of the grading system. Although they "succeeded," achieving high scholastic records, they implied in their responses that this was *in spite of the system and not because of it.* Very few felt they had learned *anything of real value* after their first years in school, except *how to succeed in school.*

Attitudes toward Education

Although these students' school experiences, current pursuits and values differ, all expressed very similar attitudes toward education. The most commonly shared concepts were: a positive self-image is *crucial to success, not only in school but in life;* self-confidence is *more important to success than native ability;* early experiences in school are a *determining factor in later achievement* and teachers have the *most important influence upon a child's self-confidence and self-image.* Although all felt that academic skills are important, they placed the emphasis upon *developing self-confidence and positive attitudes toward learning* as the primary task of teachers and that these tasks *should take precedence over specific academic skills in the early years.* They described the most effective teachers as those who *related well to children*—who took *a personal interest in the individual child* and who *stimulated and motivated* children to learn while recognizing each child's self-worth. They emphasized their feeling that *the kind of a person* *the teacher is is more important than what is taught.*

Although all felt that the first years of school were the most important in building a "solid foundation," they also felt strongly about the importance of every year in school. Many described teachers in their later school years who had "turned them on" after they had become disillusioned by a *number of boring and uninspired teachers.* Therefore, it seems, it is never too late for a *good teacher to influence students;* but the early years are the most crucial.

Other attitudes expressed: the emphasis upon *learning academic skills for the purpose of going to school has a detrimental effect upon the desire to learn.* The academic skills (the 3 Rs) should be *a means to an end, not an end in themselves.* The general feeling was that most schools *are geared to the 3 Rs and nothing else* and unless there is *personal involvement in learning, very little is learned.*

Of equal importance was the criticism concerning the competitive atmosphere in most classrooms. They felt that children should learn to cooperate rather than to compete with one another for the teacher's praise and rewards. The method of giving grades as a reward by the teacher was considered detrimental to students and to meaningful learning. The importance of developing a cooperative attitude in the classroom instead of a competitive one was well expressed by the following statement: *In the end it is not so important whether a person can compute an equation, but everyone must learn to live with and interact with other people.*

How Schools Should Be

All of these students considered kindergarten to be a model of how schools should be: informal atmosphere, flexibility of program, emphasis upon each child's individual interests and growth rate and upon learning through direct experiences as *the most valid type. In kindergarten, we weren't pushed into learning . . . we learned by doing, by seeing things happen rather than only being taught about them through a book . . . this is the way we learned in kindergarten and it is as relevant a way to learn in college as it was in kindergarten.* Another student summed up the overall response: *People at any age learn and retain what they have learned most effectively if they experience it rather than only being taught about it.*

All expressed strong opinions concerning *what* young children should learn. They felt that developing a child's natural curiosity and desire to learn—along with his or her self-confidence—was the *most important learning that should take place in the early years.* All felt that *kindergarten should be a time for learning new experiences.* Reading should not be taught in kindergarten unless a child wants to learn to read. As one pointed out: *Reading, per se, is not the point. Reading to learn about what interests a child is the point.* They all thought that children should be taught reading and other academic skills when they were ready to learn them and that this varied with the individual child and could not be based upon a specific grade level. One boy expressed the general attitude of all the students: *Teach children the specific skills when they need them. Help them to succeed and provide the emotional support they need. For if a child has a positive self-image, he will learn because he wants to, not because he is supposed to.*

Lessons for Me

The results of this study were most rewarding to me since my former pupils taught me the kinds of experiences that had been most meaningful to them when they were in kindergarten. They reinforced my beliefs concerning how children learn and how teachers are most effective. This project represents exactly what they all told me—that "learning through direct experiences and personal involvement is the most meaningful way." What they were able to teach me is far more relevant than anything I could learn through a textbook or through any other means. *They* are the most reliable textbook that could be devised.

Sylvia Ashton-Warner's Message for American Teachers

Bill Cole Cliett

"Mother died peacefully early this morning. Love, Jasmine."

The cable announcing the death of Sylvia Ashton-Warner came the night of April 27. That it had been expected made it no less easy to read. One of the most creative and original minds in contemporary education was gone.

I repeated that short sentence from the cable over and over in my mind and remembered the first time I read Sylvia's great book, *Teacher.* No one who wrote a book like that can really die, I said. Then my mind went back to our first meeting in that little gray house with the white picket fence in Aspen. It was October and I was there to learn her organic education scheme and the Key Vocabulary, those words of intense, personal meaning, instantly recognized, which caption the native imagery and provide a proper foundation for reading. The only direction she had given was to come as a 5-year-old child. For Sylvia herself had recaptured the best of that glorious age! "I am a child of 5," she told us that first morning. "I was an adult once, but that time is bracketed in dreams."

Everything Sylvia did and said conveyed the excitement and sense of wonder of the 5-year-old . . . and the unexpected. As we walked by the Roaring Fork one morning, teacups in hand, I asked, "You say you are only 5, but how old are you really?" "I'm either 62 or 64," she said. "My mother was very absent-minded and named two of her daughters Sylvia Ashton-Warner. One of them died and I don't know which one I am."

Courtesy of author

I remembered asking, "Did you ever, like Miss Vorontosov in your first book, *Spinster,* drink a half-tumbler of brandy in the morning to make your feet take you to school?"

"No," she laughed, "but I did get tipsy on sherry several mornings before going to teach. Purely in the interests of research, you understand."

Then, seriously, "But *Spinster* wasn't my first book. *Teacher* was. All the publishers rejected it. They didn't think anyone would want to read about a teacher's work with Maori children. So I went home and added some sex and violence, and it sold." By converting her non-

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fiction manuscript into a novel, she had kept her unique educational system intact—but wearing a new dress of love and death.

I remembered the wonderful way Sylvia had of saying so much in a few words. We were talking about curriculum one morning and she summed up with, "Knowledge is knowledge, but wisdom is knowledge plus feeling."

I remembered the trip west as I drove her to San Francisco. Every morning she sang "Beyond the Blue Horizon," and in Nevada she jumped out of the car to taste the salt flats.

From San Francisco she went to Vancouver as Distinguished Visiting Professor at Simon Fraser University. I flew up two years later to say good-by before she sailed for home. She took my Key Vocabulary that evening and, I suppose because I had just spent eight hours in a plane, my word was "falling."

After a typical New Zealand Saturday-night dinner, we sat on the floor with our bowls of rhubarb pie swimming in heavy cream. I reported on my work with American teachers in using the Key Vocabulary. "What do I say to American teachers," I queried, "when they ask what would Sylvia Ashton-Warner do in this situation or how would she handle this problem? They have so many specific questions."

She jumped up with great energy, got me a pad and pencil, and said, "I will dictate my answer to the American teachers. Read this when they ask.

"Supply the conditions. When life comes in the door, let it. Supply the conditions where both our teacher and our child can be themselves. Supply the conditions where the native imagery can surface under its own power, to be captioned, harnessed, and make its contribution to society.

"What are the conditions? All the media we can lay our hands to—primarily the media of the earth, rhythm (nothing is alive without rhythm), physical contact, and contact with the masters (genius interprets life)—all the media you can lay your hands to, above all the conversation.

"Family fluidity is also one of the conditions. School is no longer a place specifically for learning, but necessarily now in this nuclear age the only place for many of our children for living. This crucial generation of the young people who are not yet dead, only sedated, teaching the creatively incapacitated, the imaginatively injured. But in the next generation we are going to have robot teaching robot.

"The great tragedy of today is the passing of the creative mind because the great world of phantasy has been vacated—the creative mind which is the birthright of our children."

Growing Teachers

Is There Life After Pac-Man?

Selma Wassermann

Norbert Finster teaches a Grade 6 class at the Archive School in beautiful downtown Capital City. He has been teaching for many years and his classroom contains many of the accouterments of a modern school—a film library with cassette tapes, a language lab, an opaque projector. The shelves in his room are filled with hundreds of texts—multiple copies for all the areas of the curriculum. When it comes to classroom materials, Norbert Finster is amply endowed.

A visitor to his classroom would immediately notice an absence of children's work on display—no sign of art or of pupil projects of any kind. If pupils are involved in active learning experiences, there is no evidence of such involvement to be seen in the room. As the morning progresses, the children move from one teacher-dominated activity to the next. A language activity lasts over an hour. Pupils sit and wait to be called upon to give the correct answers to a 40-item homework assignment emphasizing grammatical construction. Pupils do not speak except to give the answer. This is a language activity where no one engages in language except the teacher.

Throughout the morning, all activities flow from the teacher and are directed to the whole class. The primary learning task is learning to wait. The morning is tedious and seems never-ending. When the recess bell sounds, the class explodes in frantic and frenetic behaviors out the door and onto the schoolyard.

If pupils have different styles of learning, this is not recognized in this class. If pupils learn at different rates of speed, neither is this accommodated. If pupil interests vary, if individual remediation is needed, if there is giftedness that might be tapped—none of this is taken into account. Thirty pupils are treated as one pupil. All learning is managed, directed and controlled by the teacher. Individual initiative is unwarranted, and conforming and passive behaviors are the most prized and rewarded.

Well, what's all the fuss about? The Norbert Finsters of the teaching profession have been with us for years. Isn't it likely that such teaching—boring, tedious and banal—will continue to exist, as it has in the past, in spite of all the changes in the world around us? Not very likely. Not this time.

Look around you. In downtown Vancouver, the Learning Store occupies the entire street floor of a large office building. It is a fully computerized, individualized classroom, offering unlimited, free machine time to students of all ages for remedial and/or enrichment work in reading skills, spelling, basic arithmetic skills and algebra. The Learning Store is open seven days a week, from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m., and plans are being made for several neighborhood branches.

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The electronic age is *not* in education's future. It is *today*. Check your favorite teacher magazine and note the advertisements for computer software that teaches basic skills acquisition. *Childhood Education* has already initiated a "Software for the Classroom" column, which will appear from now on as a regular feature (Silvern, 1984). Schools are budgeting for computers, and computer companies are offering attractive and tempting options for moving more computers into the schools.

Children don't need any prodding to put their fingers on the keys of the console. They are enchanted by the control they exercise over the machine and the attractive, compelling, imaginative programs in which they have full power over their own learning. In the best programs, they are actively engaged in the process of skills acquisition, and skills development is individually paced and tailored to each learner's stages of knowledge acquisition. If a student makes an error on a computer program, it's considered part of the learning process—not a *Mistake*, to be red-pencilled and berated.

Computer-based learning has already begun to replace the human teacher, and the results have been astonishing. In 105 schools throughout the United States, the IBM program "Write To Read" is being field-tested in over 10,000 classrooms (Asbell, 1984). Five- and 6-year-olds learn to write before they learn to read, and the results of the first year's tests are already in. Children using the program are scoring higher in reading skills than 89 percent of their peers. More than 95 percent of the children in the 1st grade have learned to write as well as read. The implications of these data are mind-boggling, for if this program realizes its full expectation, it may eliminate the curse of reading failure from the primary classroom. Think of it! No pupils will fail in reading. And all of this is accomplished without the intervention of a human teacher.

Seymour Papert, Professor of Mathematics at MIT, predicts that:

> . . . the computer presence will enable us to so modify the learning environment outside the classroom that much if not all the knowledge schools presently try to teach with such pain and expense, and such limited success, will be learned, as the child learns to talk, painlessly, successfully and without organized instruction. This obviously implies that schools as we know them today have no place in the future (1980).

Look out, Norbert Finster! You may not survive the decade.

The Force Is with Us

The prospect of change that the computer presence brings can be alarming. Yet, from another perspective, it can be exhilarating. If we may conceive of the computer not as a threat to the survival of schools, but as a means of liberating teachers from the heavy burdens of information-dispensing and skill-building—the very mainstays of the traditionalist classroom—we may at last free them to concentrate on those other, more demanding professional functions that can make their teaching more significant, more effective and more urgently needed than ever before in the history of education. To do so implies a reconsideration of what schools are for—a shift in our thinking that schools are for the acquisiton of "basic skills." Egads! Can we consider such a reconceptualization without shaking the very foundations of the entire school establishment?

If schools are *not* to be concerned with basic skills development, if such learning is to be left to computer programs, what should schools do for children and what should teachers be doing as they exercise the professional functions of teaching?

A reconsideration of what schools can become must begin with a close look at children today—who they are and what they are and why they are different from the children who went to school in the 1950s. We must also ask ourselves about the kinds of adults we want children to become and how schools and teachers might contribute to that growth.

Neil Postman has already told us about the disappearance of childhood (1982). Some of us had already seen the signs of change earlier on: Sylvia Ashton-Warner, for example, who wrote her brilliant and perceptive study of today's children in *Spearpoint* in 1972. At that time, she already noted that the 5-year-olds she saw in Aspen were the "advance guard of technology, with their long legs, proud faces and elongated bodies, the thrice great brains." The children were beautiful—but somehow lacking. She called them "mupersons"—children who were "two-dimensional psychic mutations who lacked the third dimension of feeling." Watching the children in action, she saw that they did not ask questions; they did not come alive with curiosity; they did not go out to enjoy play. When she asked, "Who will share his snack with Rocky?" the children replied in chorus, "Nobody."

All of this was already in evidence over a decade ago—long before the appearance of Pac-Man and other computer games which now dominate children's playtime. Look into any computer section of any department store. The people you see at the computer terminals are the children. This is their *milieu*. What does it mean for their growth and development? Recently we introduced a water table into several Grade 2 classrooms. The children, in small groups, spent the first two weeks at it with their hands simply immersed in the water. Not playing. Not "experimenting" with the objects provided. Just "feeling" the water. Could this be a sign of some sensory deprivation?

When we think of what schools may become, it is essential that we begin by looking at children—what they are and what they are becoming and whether we like what we see. And if we don't, what can we do about it?

For myself, I do not like the idea of children becoming very smart and very well-informed and able to access information quickly and competently, unless they also have the capability of using that information wisely. I do not like the idea of the emphasis on information acquisition and skills development without comparable emphasis on play, on creativity, on learning to work in groups. What I want for children is for them to be able to grow and become the kinds of adults who will be deeply and profoundly concerned for the future of humankind—not only in their rhetoric, but in their day-to-day behavior. I want them to be contributors to our society, not just consumers. I want them to become decent, loving and compassionate. Problem-solvers, not problem-makers.

These are some of the things I want our children to become—and in spite of the fancy hardware and sophisticated software we have, it is only the human, growing teacher who can help us to reach these person-oriented goals.

The implications of these goals are immense—for they mean not only a reconceptualizing of our vision of what schools are for, but also of our vision of what the teacher does in the day-to-day experience of the classroom. But the force for change is with us. We can re-create the schools.

What Can Schools Become?

What can schools become? What functions can teachers perform to reflect what is absent from the lives of children today? What can teachers do to help children grow toward three-dimensionality? The ideas presented below are not all inclusive, but they do reflect what I believe to be the more urgent conditions for the survival of schools and the growth of healthy children.

☐ *The elevation and nurturing of children's feelings*. We don't have to go to the psychological literature to know that we all have feelings and that feelings are one of the important dimensions of our human-ness. Yet, in some classrooms where we have been excessively preoccupied with learning information and content mastery, we have tended to say to children, "Not now" when feelings surface. We have ourselves felt pressured to cover the content and have seen to it that feelings have gone to the back of the bus, while "basics" occupy the front seats. As a consequence, children have learned that schools are places where feelings don't count. John Goodlad has described the 1,016 classrooms in his extensive study of schools as places of "flattened affect" (1984).

I have put this condition at the top of the list because I believe that children who live with TV and with Pac-Man as primary playmates are in grave danger of having insufficient life experiences to grow into feeling humans. I am suggesting, therefore, that the post Pac-Man classroom give primary emphasis to the nurturing of children as feeling people and that teachers help children deal with their feelings in satisfying and socially acceptable ways.

☐ *The promotion of interpersonal skills*. Those of us who grew up many years ago remember that life in our neighborhood consistently brought us into situations in which we learned to live together humanly and humanely. Today our community is the single-plane TV screen and our neighborhood, Sesame Street and Fantasy Island. We are no longer participants, but observers—and observers not of life, but of pseudo life. It is difficult to learn humanitarian concerns and high-level interpersonal functioning from shows like "Soap" and the modeling behaviors of heroes like Laverne and Shirley and Arnold. It is difficult to learn interpersonal functioning when each child is sitting at a computer console, working on spelling or mastery of algebra. Interpersonal functioning is not a prerequisite for communicating via a modem.

If we value the goal of people working together harmoniously and productively, we may have to give interpersonal skills development serious emphasis in the classroom.

☐ *The promotion of higher-order thinking capabilities.* Everybody is *for* teaching for thinking. We all applaud it as one of the most important survival goals of life—in spite of the fact that so little of it goes on in today's classrooms (Raths et al., in press). A 3rd-grade teacher complained, "I'm *for* thinking, but I just don't have time to include that *too* in my school day. I spend nights awake thinking how I'm going to get all the pupils to master their basic skills."

Perhaps now that the information-dispensing functions of the teacher can be successfully carried out by computer programs, we will be able to encourage more emphasis on the development of children's problem-solving capabilities.

The accumulation of knowledge, without the development of expertise in using knowledge wisely, can be an immensely empty learning experience. We have seen people who are schooled, but not educated; who are "smart," but not wise; who have "book learning," but no "common sense." It is not the amount of facts that we learn that will see us through life in the 21st century. It is how we will use that knowledge to make this planet a better, more decent place to live. That comes from the ability to think and reason, and that is why I have included this condition as imperative for the post Pac-Man classroom. No matter how smart and stylish our computer programs, this is still a teaching function which, so far, only human teachers can perform.

☐ *The nurturing of creativity and imagination.* Creativity is one of the most highly valued of human qualities and, according to Einstein, is far more consequential than knowledge in furthering the significant advances of humankind. It is from rich and fertile imaginations, much more than accumulated information, that new forms emerge. It is a person's creativity that has brought forth such immense breakthrough inventions as the wheel, the dymaxion car, the theory of relativity, the electric light, the first airplane. Creativity and imagination have been, throughout history, the keys to the advancement of the quality of life.

Our 5-year-olds today have fewer opportunities to exercise their creative talents. By the time they are 5, they have already spent about 5,000 hours of their playtime watching TV. Now computer games also occupy a great deal of their free-time activities. In schools, the "basics" are stressed and creative activities are considered "frills." Music and art programs are the first to be dropped in times of fiscal restraint, but budgets are expanded to allow for the purchase of new computers. With such limited opportunity for children's creative imaginations to flower, and with such a counterproductive set of forces in motion, what kind of adults are our children likely to become? And what kind of world are they likely to create?

Is it too much to ask that the post Pac-Man classroom permit—no, encourage, support and cultivate—the creative activities of children? Is it too much to ask that we put coloring books and stencilled Santa Clauses and identical cutout Christmas trees behind us and bring to the classroom, right alongside the computer, the primary tools of children's play: sand and water, fingerpaint, dress-up clothing, conversation, singing, crafts, daydreaming, crying, quarrelling, blocks, creative writing, clay, dolls, boats, chalk, painting, loving, dancing (Ashton-Warner, 1963) . . . not just in the primary grades, but throughout the school? Is this truly heresy? Has this writer gone mad?

☐ *The development of moral and ethical behavior.* When Louis Raths originally introduced us to the idea of values development as a part of the education of children, he cited the rapidly changing world, the increased evidence of violence and corruption, the shattering of our ideas about family and church and government as morally impeccable leaders, the transitory nature of life, coupled with societal and personal dissembling and instability. The major theme in his writing was that it was exceedingly difficult, given these life conditions, for children to grow morally and ethically sound (Raths et al., 1965).

If one learns ethical behavior primarily from the examples around us, the examples seemed, at best, shaky. Raths' book was written 20 years ago. It's difficult to state with certainty that conditions have gotten a great deal worse since then. But it is clear that they have not gotten a great deal better. It is increasingly difficult for children to grow up today in the presence of many good and healthy examples of moral and ethical behavior.

It may be argued that schools are not places where such learning is appropriate; that values development is best left to the home and the church. While I would not dispute these two domains as the more likely sources of such teaching, I would also point out that all decisions we make have values components—from the more simple, "Whom shall I invite to the party?" to the more complex, "Who shall get my vote?" And whether we like it or not, there are moral and values issues that are adjunct to many, many areas of the curriculum—from history and geography, to literature and art. What's more, we have been informed by leading scientists that we have already left out for too long the consideration of values dimensions in scientific decision-making and that to continue to disregard these is to do so at our own peril.

Can we ask for one more condition in the post Pac-Man classroom without causing it to collapse under the strain? Can we ask that curriculum include the examination of values issues as they relate to decision-making, so that children have opportunities to analyze and discuss these, as well as develop a growing awareness of what beliefs and attitudes shape the decisions of their own lives? Can we help children to grow to become more morally responsible and ethical human beings?

All of the above have implications for teachers and their professional growth, since the realization of these goals lies in the hands of teachers.

Growing Teachers

The ability to realize, conceptually and in classroom practice, the demands of the post Pac-Man classroom calls for a growing and a knowing on the part of teachers that is unparalleled in the entire history of education. How is it to be done? Given the inadequacy of much professional training, and the archly conservative and even repressive conditions seen in some school districts, how might teachers embark on journeys of personal and professional growth and change, so that they might continue to make a difference in children's lives? The answer to this question is: Not easily.

It begins first with one teacher—with that teacher's growing awareness of the need for change—a personal recognition that how one is functioning in the classroom is substantially different from the ways in which one wishes to function. This process is not for the faint-hearted. It requires an enormous amount of courage and the lowering of the personal and professional defenses we have erected to protect ourselves from just such critical appraisal. But significant growth cannot come without it. It is the very first step in the process.

For the growing teacher, such critical examination may occur through the use of a video recorder, now standard equipment in almost every school. Via videotape playback, it is possible to observe and study our teaching behaviors from a variety of angles—to see without personal distortion to what extent our teaching is congruent with what we feel we *should* be doing.

Through this self-appraisal, we can begin to raise questions that will guide our plans for change: Am I giving sufficient attention to children's feelings? Am I promoting healthy, interpersonal relationships? Am I attending to the development of higher-order thinking skills? Is creativity flourishing in my classroom? Are the children actively engaged in learning? Am I able to make sound assessments of learning needs? Do I know what individual interventions specific children need to help them overcome learning problems? Is my classroom a vital, alive, dynamic place? Do I show respect and valuing for the dignity of each child?*

As we raise these questions, we can begin to determine to what extent our teaching performance meets with our own highest standards. We can be clearer about how and where to find the tools that will help us to close the gaps between real and idealized classroom functioning.

A growing and changing teacher will need a support system—friends and colleagues who can be enormously valuable in providing technical assistance, guidance and, when the going gets rough, a little chicken soup. One friend, one colleague who joins us on the growth path is a formidable ally. Two friends will make a team. With five, we will have a group and with ten, a platoon. And if all of us who are members of ACEI operated as a network to encourage and

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*For the classroom teacher who wishes help in examining and assessing classroom teaching behavior, the reader is referred to the *Profiles of Teaching Competency: A Way of Looking at What I Am Doing in the Classroom,* by Wassermann and Eggert, published by the Centre for Curriculum Studies, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B. C.

support each teacher's movement toward growth and change, we'd have an army. And none of us would ever have to stand alone in the struggle to reshape the schools.

So what if it is a little scary? We are all sailing on the Titanic, so we might just as well go first class.

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Proudly we share these eloquent excerpts from "Growing Together as Professionals," the keynote address presented to the ACEI Annual Study Conference held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in April of 1977.

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The Meaning of Teaching

Leland B. Jacobs

TODAY many of us who teach feel we are beset by dilemmas and perplexities unlike those with which any previous generation of teachers has ever had to cope. Ours *are* difficult times to do our jobs well, to be true professionals. All kinds of thorny problems—dichotomies, disagreements, challenges—come to the fore, which we must wrestle with, collectively as well as individually.

Here are some of them: accountability, competency-based programs, "thorough and efficient education," models and paradigms, career education, sex education, moral education, sensitivity training, the "right to read," linguistics and psycholinguistics, packaged curriculum programs, national testing programs, busing, community control, tenure, unionization. And—God help us!—these things all become entangled with *behavioral objectives!*

But primary to all these concerns, in my estimation, is the attention we must give to what we believe and what we know about being a teacher of boys and girls. A real problem with accountability at the present time, for example, is that we have not as a profession really been about our business to clarify what teaching means.

There's only one reason why you and I are employed—to teach. Over and over again, it seems to me, every one of these curriculum problems, these management problems, these peripheral problems all go back to what you and I believe teaching is.

THREE KINDS OF TEACHERS

Three kinds of people call themselves teachers. Without describing them too fully, perhaps we can pretty well agree on them.

Schoolkeepers

We have *schoolkeepers*—dozens of them in our profession. They keep school. They are tidy people—they water the plants every day. After the purple-passion-sheet little ducks are all cut out for March or April, they put them up straight above the chalkboard. They ceremoniously get out the handwriting alphabet in the fall and put it above the chalkboard, and in June they ceremoniously dust it and put it away for next fall. They move from one workbook to the next; their lesson plans can be put in little squares and boxes (page 21, page 32, exercise 3). They always get their reports in to the principal on time.

The greatest schoolkeeper I ever saw was in New Jersey. He used seven workbooks! The kids sat on them; they put the last one they were using under and pulled the next one out. That's one thing about schoolkeepers; they have it all in order. They pat kids into line. If children aren't doing the waddling duck rhythm the way the teacher wants them to (she may weigh 200 pounds like me!), she'll get down and say, "I want you to do it like this." Not a child in the room could *possibly* do it like that! Schoolkeepers—they bear the *name* of teacher, but they see their job as forming children—keeping them "in form."

Instructors

Instructors, the second group, so love their subject matter that they want the children to love it the same way they do—hence they sneak up on them. They seduce them with gold stars, with little airplanes on spelling charts. They use external motivation.

When I started my teacher education, some fifty years ago, authorities were more honest—they didn't call it "motivation" then. They called it "stirring up the aperceptive mass." And today I visit classrooms where instructors are still busy "stirring it up" so that children get the content they want them to have. ("Boys and girls, tell me, what kind of cookies does your Mama—or Papa—bake? Oh, that's nice, Helen . . . chocolate chip! And your Mama, Susie? That's nice, pineapple bars. You buy them at the store, Willy? What kind?") Such instructors don't give a tinker's dam what kind of cookies are being baked—because all they are doing is stirring up the aperceptive mass. ("Now we're going to read the story about baking cookies with Mama.")

Instructors: they're better than schoolkeepers, because they see their job as *in*forming.

Composers

And then there are folks like us—real *teachers*. They don't add methods to content—they know that what you do and the way you do it are inextricably woven together. When McLuhan wrote *The Medium Is the Message*, every real teacher I know said, "So what?" They've known this forever. Real teachers know that teaching is a compositional act.

THE ART OF THE TEACHING ACT

The way you "compose" teaching, as I see it, is by confronting children. The job of teaching is to get in kids' way, not to get out of their way. If we keep out of their way, they may as well be out on the street. I hear educators sometimes say, "The teacher wasn't really doing anything; the children were doing it all." Nonsense! The teacher had so posed confrontations as to know when to be in and when out. Composed confrontations: we compose schooling experiences in such a way that we're sure all of the children, in terms of who they are, can encounter the content.

On to Engagement

We do not compose *umbrella* confrontations, because only two people can get under an umbrella. We compose *canopy* ones, where all can get under with their own encounters, and start some interaction. But too often in our professional literature we have talked as if that were the end of it. Not at all—interaction is just a beginning; it leads to *transaction*. And when it really works, in those glorious moments, it moves on to *engagement*. Engagement of the children in the encounter, engagement of the teacher in making that encounter the most remarkable possible experience.

Dignity of the Child's Being

Real teachers know that teaching starts first in their own minds, with the acceptance of the child as he or she is. It starts with the dignity of the child's being.

The great educational psychologist Arthur Jersild has said that a child has not only the right to be the age child he is when he comes to school; he has the right to be the kind of child he is. George Murphy, who for years was in charge of the reading clinic at Pennsylvania State University, told audiences all over this country that you have not really seen a child until you've seen "beyond the head lice and the snotty nose." And L. Thomas Hopkins told audiences at ACEI conferences that when a little fellow in your classroom isn't giving you the behavior that you want, you *still* have to say to yourself—if you are a real teacher—"It's the best behavior he has at the moment. God willing, he'll have better at the end of this year of living with me, but at this moment this is the best behavior he's got."

A child *lives*—that's where teaching starts.

Dignity of Recognition

Children come to school *alone*, too. They do not come to us as bundles of individual differences, all neatly tied up the way twigs are tied up in the Black Forest; they come wholly alone.

Oh, that worries some people, because they equate aloneness with loneliness. But we all know deep down inside that to be human is to have to live alone—alone with one's heartbeat, alone with one's locomotion, alone with one's cholesterol count, alone with one's perceptions of life. Anybody who has lived intimately with another person for many years knows that one is never totally explicable to another. And that the purpose of communion and communication is to reach from the aloneness or the "onlyness," if you prefer, of one to another.

Dignity of Recognition. Recognition in terms of interests. One can awaken us teachers out of a sound sleep and ask, "What are you doing?" and an answer trips on our tongues, "We are meeting the needs and interests of children." The terms are too broad. We should recognize that children bring at least three kinds of interest to the classroom. Some are interest curiosities; some, interest concerns; and others, interest commitments—and they cannot all be treated the same way.

Interest Curiosities. We were in a home awhile ago where a little girl was so excited and interested in finding out about something at the dinner table. I said, "Ask it at school." And she responded, "Not on your life. I don't want to know that much!" Curiosity may lead on; we have to ask what we are doing to keep it growing.

Interest Concerns. Today's children know no more about love or affection or belonging or acceptance than did those of any other generation, so far as I can tell from working with them. But in some ways they *are* more knowledgeable. Because they watch television, they have seen the devastating effects of war and they know there are inequities in this world; they bring those concerns to the classroom. And we must deal with them, not because, in all humility, we have any better solutions but because we want sympathetically to do what we can to help them comprehend that there are human problems to be worked on.

Interest Commitments. Even very young children have commitments—they may not last very long; but, my, how motivational it can be to take them seriously. I know one little boy, Tommy, who when he was five lived in a neighborhood that had the most marvelous garbage collector. Tommy would be out to meet him every time he came, and one day announced to his own family that when *he* grew up, he wanted to be a garbage man. Don't laugh—because if you had to do without your Robert Redford or your garbage man, which choice are *you* going to make? Now, Tommy grew up to be a college professor; make anything of that you want to.

Another little boy, on an island off Massachusetts, at a very early age got curious about, and then seriously interested in, turtles. The great turtle authorities in America have heard about him. They send him brochures and they come to visit him, for they see the continuation of their work in that little fellow!

When the great storyteller Seamus McManus used to visit in America, he stopped in dime stores all over to buy things for the children of his village—and he always bought a couple of extras, for there would be new babies. He was taking a gift to that unknown child who some day would carry on *his* traditions, would sit and listen as he had to the stories that led him to become the storyteller.

You ask, "How am I going to know if the interest is a curiosity or a commitment?" If the classroom is the right kind, the children will tell you . . . provided that you listen.

Splitters and Lumpers. They come with the dignity of identity and recognition in terms of a *preferred learning style.*

In practically any classroom, some of your children are going to be *splitters* and some are going to be *lumpers*—and some will be both. Splitters take ideas, hypotheses, questions and build logically, logically, logically to a conclusion. Lumpers—they throw out a good gob of stuff and then pull out the strands to see if it works. (The test of what you are is what you did when you wrote term papers. If the professor said that you should turn in an outline of the paper and you wrote the outline first and then wrote the paper, you are a splitter. If, like me, you wrote the paper and then found out what the outline was, you're a lumper!)

Hypothetical Others. If you are doing the *real* teaching act, you are creating of each child a hypothetical other. "Given these circumstances," you surmise, "that child will behave this way." You don't *know* he's going to behave this way today; life is not that neat. Observing behaviors, we make some hunches—and we know when that hunch is wrong and the child has moved on.

Turnabout is fair play; the children have *us* all labeled as hypothetical others too. Anyone who has taught in the same school for as long as three years has a grapevine growing. "When you get into her classroom and she says, 'What will we do after we've had the study?' yell as fast as you can, 'Make books.' You're going to make books no matter what other choices there are."

Dignity of Learning

The job of real teaching is not to result in learning. Learning is all about; it no more belongs to us in schools than it does to the church, the home, the peer group. You cannot stop learning if you wanted to. When you have really been taught, you come away *knowing what you know*. Oh, somebody will say, "Even in learning what you don't know?" Of course—how can you know what you don't know until you know what you know? Look back at the teachers who somehow or other got to you. What they did was help you pick the stuff that remained somewhat disparate, each in its own little box, when all of a sudden they weren't in boxes any more. They'd all gone together. You knew what you knew!

Discourse and Nondiscourse. As real teachers, you and I have two ways to help children know what they know. We have opportunity to induct them into the worlds of discourse and nondiscourse.

Discourse is the realm of fact, information and judgment—and, in the negative sense, propaganda. When we're dealing with children to help them know what they know about facts and information, this material has to be built logically and linearly. It has to start with a problem, question, topic, proposal, hypothesis, assumption, and be developed to a reasonable conclusion. Then comes the test: verifying it.

Real teachers seldom use a single textbook; they push kids out to verify. They don't even want all the same kind of dictionaries in their classrooms—they want eight or ten different dictionaries. Schoolkeepers protest, "But the children are going to find that the books don't agree!" That's exactly what real teachers want.

In every classroom where we deal with American history, do you know what I'd put? At least one Canadian book. If children used that to find out about the American Revolution, they might not recognize it but they ought to hear it. Teach them to verify.

Small children know this need intuitively. If we tell them some information, they go and ask somebody else they respect, "Is it *true?*" The result of building on that intuition and of taking children into the realm of discourse is an informed intellect.

But another hallway to knowing is no less important: nondiscourse or aesthetic feeling, the realm of the arts.

Aesthetic feeling, which is to be distinguished from your own *psychological* feeling, involves projecting yourself into what you are not. It is to become one with the "elephant's child and the great, gray, green Limpopo River, all set about with fever trees."

Rather than building logically and linearly, aesthetic feeling is built relationally, from a beginning to a middle to an end. Its test is not verifiability but believability. Do you *believe* a Calder mobile? Do you *believe* the Three Billy Goats Gruff? Do you *believe* that

> A goblin lives in our house, in our house
> A goblin lives in our house, all the year round?

While discourse leads to an an informed intellect, nondiscourse leads to an educated imagination.

Real teachers, then, compose teaching so that children have two comparable ways of knowing. Thus children come to know the causes of the American Revolution, informationally; they also know the music of the Revolution, the paintings of the Revolution, and the story of the Revolution as in *Johnny Tremain*.

Dignity of Being Responsible

Real teaching calls for being responsibly productive. It is foolish to say, as some teachers do, "I don't care anything about the children's product, it's just the process that counts." D.E.M. Gardner, the magnificent English early childhood educator, told us the story when she was visiting here of entering a classroom where there was a "lovey-dovey" teacher, where everything in the room was "lovely." The teacher, upon approaching one child who was painting at the easel, exclaimed, "Oh, beautiful! Beautiful!" The little boy tore his picture off the easel, crumpled it up and stomped on it, saying, "Tain't either. It's the worst painting I ever made in my life!"

Another kind of teacher insists, "I don't care what the process is; it's the product that counts." A thirteen-year-old Campfire Girl, seeking to tell the difference between the way adults and children write poetry, closed her poem with these lines:

> And old folks write for pleasure's sake
> But children write for fame.

Product, product! But real teachers know that process and product go together.

Being responsibly productive means to *react*, to *do*, to respond to both the process and the product.

GROWING TOGETHER

What has all this to do with "growing together as professionals"? Everything! For as I said at the beginning, responding as individuals to the clash and clamor, in our lives, of such concerns as accountability and sensitivity training and behavioral objectives requires that we clarify for ourselves just what we believe the act of teaching to be. It starts in our own classrooms, when we form deep-down reactions that say, "This I believe; this I stand for."

And having done that for ourselves, we are going to raise our voices every chance we get. "Sometimes," as Lillian Hellman once put it in an informal talk, "you stand up and raise your voice. And you may not hear another sound in the room but there are others who have been inarticulate and who will praise you for doing for them what they could not do for themselves."

In our classrooms, in the teachers' room, in curriculum meetings, we raise our voices to be heard about what we believe teaching is. We seek out others in our communities with comparable views. We form, if you will, a small political action group.

We quit being silent when questions of tenure come up and only schoolkeepers get hired. We support that maverick teacher who looks so funny to the schoolkeepers and instructors. We don't leave the decision-making to someone else; we get our word in too.

One of the great school superintendents in America said once, "Give me any day a teacher who experiments and finds out it's a blind alley, who experiments and comes back again and again, to one who sits on haunches and bewails, 'It probably wouldn't work anyway'."

Refusing to back off, we seek broader associations as in this organization of ACEI—and its professionals of courage, like Agnes Snyder and Alice Keliher and Roma Gans and L. Thomas Hopkins and Larry Frank and Laura Zirbes. Courage? You bet it takes courage. "We might get hurt a little?" You bet we'll get hurt a little. But we'll get hurt a lot more if we acquiesce, because we'll go home nights hating ourselves for not being true to ourselves.

Real teachers do not teach toward objectives; they teach toward outcomes. It doesn't all have to be done today. "You've got tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow," as Sylvia Ashton-Warner says. To what end? As Alfred North Whitehead said so beautifully, to the end that children leave us accepting themselves, knowing they're dignified persons, full of "activity of thought, receptivity to beauty, the humane feelings."

To the end that children know, as John Masefield says, that "the days that make us happy make us wise."

Who know, as e. e. cummings told us, "I'd rather learn from one bird how to sing than teach 10,000 stars how not to dance."

Or, as Edith Wharton said, we're going to help develop in our classrooms persons who are "incorrigible life-lovers. Life-wonderers. And adventurers."

We can grow together professionally only if we proudly say, "I'm not a schoolkeeper. I'm a real teacher."

See also:

Jacobs, Leland B. "The Teacher Asked of the Child." In *Readings from CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: Articles of Lasting Value*, p. 178. Washington, DC: ACEI, 1966.

Murrow, Casey. "Fostering Dignity in Teachers and Children." CE 52, 3 (Jan. 1976): 129–33.

By C. W. HUNNICUTT

Some *Undebatables* in Teaching Children

C. W. Hunnicutt, professor of education, Syracuse University, New York, presents some reasons for undebatables in teaching.

ONE ATTRACTION OF TEACHING IS ITS fascinating complexity. With the constant challenge of new things to learn, boredom seldom occurs. Think of the infinite nuances a sensitive teacher finds throughout the day with a roomful of youngsters! No computer could cope with the variables of twenty-five changing personalities interacting with each other, with their teacher, and with each curricular area. Your group is supposed to be homogeneous, but each child is different. Frank likes Maxine, arithmetic and recess but merely endures the rest of school—and today he's even down on arithmetic. What's "bugging" him? Maxine is so eager to please you that she quickly pretends to understand that new material but may never really come to grips with it. How can you expose her pretense, yet protect the precarious self-confidence that so easily collapses? Mrs. Wilson down the corridor seems to do everything so well—a real artist with the children. But she is not very explicit. "Oh, you just seem to know what to do with each situation as it comes along." If only there were nice, simple undebatable answers. But it seems as if the only undebatable fact about teaching is that everything is debatable.

The whole purpose of educational research is to transform debatables into undebatables by experimenting until decisions can be made with confidence. So much is yet unknown! To paraphrase Oppenheimer, we have only tiny patches of established fact or principle upon the great wall of the unknown. But the encouraging point is that these patches do exist and are expanding. Each year of investigation moves a little more into the realm of "the undebatable."

A handful of large, axiomatic truths all too often misunderstood, misinterpreted or misapplied will be considered here. Though by now they cannot truly be debated, some persons still make the attempt.

Children differ greatly in their capacity to learn academically. Of course! But too many educators assume this is a simple trait extending along a single scale from low to high. Children who learn easily are presumably capable of learning everything easily and if properly motivated should do equally well in all curricular areas. Children of a given level of ability should thus be able to form a "homogeneous group" in which the need for individualization would be relatively insignificant. What are the facts?

I once used the Stanford Achievement Test scores of the 130 fifth-grade children in a typical small school system. I ranged them from high to low on their *Battery Median* and then arbitrarily divided them into five groups of approximately equal size. I next studied the *sub-test scores* of the same Stanford Achievement Test to see if the range within each group had been materially reduced. Had the children been made more homogeneous? They had, but not very much. The high group (grade 6.35-7.05 on the Battery Median) ranged on Paragraph Meaning from 4.0 to 9.9, almost six years. The middle group (Battery Median 5.2-5.8) ranged from 3.8 to 9.3 and the bottom group (Battery Median 2.6-4.85) ranged from 2.8 to 9.0! In arithmetic computation the high group's range was 4.8-6.9, the middle group's was 4.8-6.4, and the lowest was 3.8-5.9. The other groups and sub-test scores showed similar ranges. Some children in the top group were low on one sub test, while others were low on others. Some in the bottom group were high in one area (though low enough in most to be in the low group), while others were high in various other areas. Reflection will show that there would have been even *less* homogeneity if the criterion for grouping had been an independent test, such as one of "intelligence." To repeat, these were sub-scores of the criterion test. On any trait we can measure, then, individual differences range widely; and the relative strength of one youngster may vary greatly from trait to trait. *Children do not homogenize readily.* We will be unable to teach children en masse.

The customary use of intelligence tests is fallacious. One of today's educational cults centers around the infallibility of the measured IQ. From this derive labels that become barriers to thought, such as "underachiever" and "overachiever." Whenever a person takes two tests, he is unlikely to do precisely the same on both. In fact, tests sampling two different areas of experience and learning (non-academic experiences in intelligence tests *versus* academic ones in achievement tests) are almost certain to differ. By the criterion of one test any child is bound to be an under- or overachiever on the other. (For simplification of presentation, I am ignoring the customary use of a discrepancy of a year or more as a cut-line for action.) In practice, as many "overachievers" as "underachievers" are normally found in any school system, though it becomes a little confusing to explain that a child is accomplishing more than he is capable of performing. All of this procedure blandly leads to the assumption that the intelligence test given for an hour or so two or three times in a child's schooling is somehow beyond question and that it can be accepted as the standard against which performance on the much more extensive and frequently given achievement tests may be measured. The intelligence score may not always be a more accurate measure of *ability*.

A second misuse is to ignore the extensive cultural bias found in all intelligence tests. The more a child's non-academic experiences differ from those of middle-class children upon whose customary experiences the tests are heavily based, the less likely he is to reveal his true inborn capacity. Studies of low income groups, of those culturally isolated, or of those with non-stimulating early environments amply document the limitations of these tests. Decisions made upon such a foundation are questionable, at best. *Test scores should not be a substitute for careful, analytic thinking* by teacher and principal, leading to choices based on their own careful observation and analysis. Test results should serve only as elements to be weighed as part of the total evidence in decision making.

Each child is a total organism. This is another cliché. "We must educate the whole child." "Pupils are people." "Children bring with them all of their out-of-school experiences: their doubts and fears and hopes and loves and hates and shame and pride; their stomachaches and hunger; their fatigue from trying to sleep three or more in a rickety bed, compounded by the noisy late movie on the neighbor's television; etc., etc." Yet how recently have many educators developed any real concern about "culturally disadvantaged children of the urban center core"! "The way we teach arithmetic may be permanently inoculating against any future self-confidence or enjoyment of mathematics." How easy it is to mouth the phrases and to accept them intellectually! How difficult to know what to do about them in the everyday struggle—or even to remember them in the hurly-burly of herding an oversized passel of young hopefuls! The high resolve of late August somehow gets battered, bruised and mislaid. We know how to teach much better then we usually do. So—we just have to keep plugging away, studying and striving to understand each child, his "good" and his "bad," his likables and his unlikables, and somehow help him keep progressing along all his personal battlefronts.

Behavior is caused. The foundation of today's science, scholarship and technology is our growing awareness that this is an orderly universe; that if we can know enough facts we can predict behavior in chemistry, biology, physics—and in education. Admittedly, children are far more complex than any nuclear or cosmic phenomenon, yet the same guiding principle of orderliness applies. All too often we cannot readily recognize what is troubling the "little phenomenon," but with a firm awareness of this guiding principle our response changes. No longer are we frightened (what if they *all* gang up on me?) or appalled (what malicious or capricious devil has seized his inner control mechanism?). We become detective-teacher-scientist seeking obvious or hidden causations so that we can help him learn better ways of meeting his problems and his inner demands.

Even a cursory consideration of other important "undebatables" would be impossible here. It must suffice merely to list other significant truths; a volume might be required for an adequate development of any one of them. Each might profitably become the subject of a faculty discussion on its implications.

- Children are people with rights who must learn responsibilities.
- Heredity and environment are both essential to an understanding of a child, but only the latter is subject to education—in fact *is* education.
- Schools must be concerned with the physical and emotional as well as the intellectual aspects of the individual.
- Good education requires home, school and community cooperation.
- Intrinsic motivation is essential to the most effective development, though extrinsic is better than none. In fact, extrinsic motivation (the star opposite his name) may be an essential step in first getting a child to perform what will then give full internal satisfaction.
- Most people use but a fraction of their potential.
- Creative thinking should be a partner to critical thinking—and is at least as important a goal of instruction.

Perhaps the reader will add his own favorites to the list.

Expanding Roots

Marian Wright Edelman

EXPANDING ROOTS is the general topic I have been asked to address. I want to discuss it in terms of expanding the national consciousness about the needs of children and families—and of expanding the attention paid to those needs by those who make public policy. I want to speak too of expanding the confidence of parents and of enhancing their abilities to act on behalf of their children. Too often we forget the centrality of parents in children's lives. Too often "experts" have seen themselves as replacements rather than complements to parents. We need to redress this imbalance by rethinking our roles as professionals and enhancing the voice of parents in important decisions affecting their children.

In the United States we are beginning an overdue public policy debate about whether there ought to be something called a Children's or Family Policy—thanks to the pro-family rhetoric of President Carter and Vice-President Mondale during the 1976 campaign. We can expect this debate to widen as a result of recent reports of various organizations, particularly the Carnegie Council on Children's report, *All Our Children: The American Family Under Pressure.*[1] I hope this debate will increase and focus with two upcoming White House Conferences— one on Families and one on Children (in 1980 or '81). I also hope that the International Year of the Child (IYC) expands this debate to include the common unmet needs of children the world over.

—UNICEF photo by Bernard Pierre Wolff

Always in my travels I am stuck by the commonality of need among children everywhere, and by our need to respond. We cannot be concerned just about hunger among poor families in Mississippi, while ignoring the fact that war-ravaged children in Laos also suffer hunger. Nor can we ignore the drought-stricken children in North Africa or poverty-stricken ones of India or Bangladesh. Peace in the world right now and later on requires that those of us who care about children invest in them the world over. For it is a small world house we live in together.

The Children's Defense Fund has documented the discrimination within America

Action *is again the password! We are pleased to share another important address from the 1978 Annual ACEI Study Conference, held last March in Charlotte, North Carolina. This sober assessment of the lessons of 1977 for child advocates leads directly to counsel for how you can help accomplish the Plan-of-Action goal "to affect social policy in the community and nation."*

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Courtesy of U.S. Civil Rights Commission

against children who are "different." But visits to other countries have shown me that children who are "different" suffer disproportionately. The West Indian or Pakistani child in England, the Turkish and other "guestworker" children in Germany, the Atlas Mountain children in Israel face problems of institutional indifference similar to those affecting racial minority and poor children at home. Though there is little tradition of child advocacy in most countries and though governments are loath to admit official neglect, the European Economic Community (the Common Market) has recently passed requirements for bilingual-bicultural programs in Western European schools that parallel some of our own efforts. Similarly, as studies conducted under the auspices of the German Marshall Fund[2] attest, the question of child care needs arising from increasing numbers of mothers in the work force throughout Western Europe is raising concerns similar to those we face in America.

But I want here to concentrate on how we in the United States can expand the responsiveness of our policymakers and politicians to the specific pressing needs of large numbers of American children. While many of us have worked hard over a number of years to improve conditions of children on a one-to-one basis in classrooms, in community projects, and in working with parents, it is time for us to shift gears and come together in a much more organized and political way to elevate children's concerns to the level of public policy, and ensure that their interests are more adequately protected on a national basis. I want therefore to:

(1) share with you my own assessment of the lessons of 1977 for child advocates and what we can learn from them in planning our future actions;

(2) describe briefly CDF's new National Legislative Agenda, which I hope you will request, read and help us achieve; and

(3) outline *how* each of you can help.

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[1] Carnegie Council on Children, *All Our Children: The American Family Under Pressure* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977).

[2] A foundation located in Washington whose funds are contributed by the German government in memory of General George Marshall's contribution to the rebuilding of Europe.

LESSONS FROM 1977

For many, 1977 began as a year of high expectations for the children's cause with a new Administration taking office. It ended for many with the disappointment that we have had to work as hard for as little as we gained. In retrospect, perhaps it should not be surprising that the pro-family rhetoric of the Carter Administration was not reflected in its budget decisions; that our good friends in leadership positions from whom we expected great miracles had better intentions than bureaucratic in-fighting skills; and that as much of our energies had to go toward keeping what we had as in inching ahead.

But the results, or lack of them, from the Carter Administration's transition year are less important than the lessons to be extrapolated for our future guidance and action.

Lesson 1: *While sympathetic in a general way to children and family concerns, the Carter Administration has no thought-out policy goals in these areas.* Similarly, it lacks both specific program plans to back up its pro-family rhetoric and any systematic process specifically geared toward evolving such plans. In sum, Carter Administration officials do not know what they believe ought to be done about children and families or how, either in the long or short run, to set goals to accomplish them. This, coupled with no systematic policy process guided by a person devoted to children or family issues with high decision-making authority in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) or elsewhere, causes the Administration to react rather than to lead. It also causes a number of specific children's issues to fall between the cracks.

A clear first step for child advocates is to insist on a more focused policy development process as it relates to children and families and a person responsible directly to HEW's Secretary with clearly defined authority, through whom program ideas can evolve and be coordinated. These two steps, in addition to a better data-collection system on children's and families' needs, could at least lay the foundation now missing for federal policymakers to evaluate or propose specific program ideas affecting children and families on other than an ad hoc or crisis basis.

Lesson 2: *The Administration does not want to spend money.* We are faced with compassionate rhetoric and fiscal conservatism that will require our setting careful priorities for what we want funded and are really prepared to fight for.

Child advocates must inject themselves much more effectively into the budgetary process before the Administration's decisions are fixed, as well as into the Congressional budgetary process. We should be mindful that Fiscal Year 1979 budget decisions are now already formed administratively and that increases in key children's programs are largely in the Congressional arena. We should be preparing FY80 budget positions for the Carter Administration right now if children are to fare better than in the Carter FY79 budget.

Lesson 3: *Consultation, however elaborate, and public forums, however laudable and important symbolically, are no substitute for programs and money.* Elaborate input processes that wield no influence and yield few results should be closely scrutinized and rejected. The upcoming International Year of the Child and the White House Conferences on Families and Children are important forums to increase public awareness of children's needs, but they should be means to the end of increased resources and better programs to meet the needs of children and their families and not ends themselves.

Child advocates should concentrate on specific program priorities and mechanisms for achieving them and not dissipate our energies on procedural issues involving conferences or on the conferences themselves. Unless we have specific goals we want to accomplish through them, they are not worth spending much time on. Our energies should therefore be concentrated on what we can get for whom and how.

Lesson 4: *Government policymakers will respond to political strength and not just moral suasion.* Children's advocates are still viewed by too many federal, state and local political officials as more of a nuisance than a threat; as do-gooders rather than people of political consequence.

Our job now is to change these perceptions by amassing *real* political power which we make felt on the same basis as other groups whose interests gain more attention in the political process. We are not beggars and our cause is more worthy of attention than many others now receiving it.

Lesson 5: *Government responds poorly to general proposals.* Most policymakers and political officials lack any breadth of understanding about children and family issues. That no two people agree now on what is meant by "family policy" or how government should lend it programmatic flesh can be used as an excuse for inaction. Similarly, that there is no consensus on whether government should have something—yet to be defined—called a Family Policy can, in the absence of definition, provoke needless fears and opposition which undermine future efforts to meet family and children's needs.

Defining the elements of a Family and Children's Policy is complicated and requires that government and outside groups proceed cautiously and thoughtfully. But this definitional process should not preclude action on a set of clear, specific goals for children based on what we already know. Some goals can be achieved immediately; others, over a period of time. An agenda, however, must be set against which people interested in children can measure Administration, Congressional, state and local performances over the next years.

Lesson 6: *We should not put all our eggs in any one basket: either executive, legislative, judicial, federal, state or local.* Too many looked to the Carter Administration to produce miracles. This did not and will never happen, though we must insist that they produce *much* better results on our issues beginning now. We must plan a variety of strategies to achieve a range of specific goals that involve not only the Administration but the Congress and courts, as well as organizing the general public to generate an atmosphere conducive to change for children at all levels. We should build pressure for strong federal leadership while building a fire under local and state officials. The Carter Administration and officials running for office all over the nation must feel our pressure and influence. A national movement for children requires interest bubbling up from and across communities all over the country as well as down from Washington.

Lesson 7: *Child and family advocates should fight the real barriers for children and not each other.* Our energies should be used to define the nexus of interest between us and work together on those specific program issues. Families are important primarily because they raise children. Most children's needs are best met by helping their parents. Whether a program initiative is labeled a family policy or a children's policy should be a strategy decision rather than a judgment about ends.

Family and children's groups must get together on an agenda and define our respective strategies and roles. In defining our priorities and the rubrics under which they should be pursued, we should pay particular attention to how the political opposition is likely to capitalize on carelessly bandied about labels or perceived splits in our ranks.

Lesson 8: *A major agenda for change for children and families will not be achieved overnight.* Change must be viewed in the context of at least a decade's span. We are now in a time for laying a firm foundation for change rather than a time for big, all-at-once goals toward which we are heading and are determined to reach. The long overdue public policy debate about the needs and proper national response to children and their families should grow with the upcoming International Year of the Child and the White House Conferences on Families and Children. Helping to shape this debate, as well as creating a sensitivity and a policy process in government that begins to ask questions about the impact of key budget and policy decisions on children and families, will stand us in good stead for the more specific work we must do over the next decade.

Our task this year is to put in place the strong political foundation for the building we have in mind for our children. Each year we should add our immediate, intermediate, and long-term plans to its construction.

Does this imply doing nothing now? Absolutely not. It means thinking very hard now about the specific achievable steps that build toward the broader national commitment that children and families need, with our eyes always on the big picture which we must be sketching in rough now.

Toward this end, CDF has prepared its first National Legislative Agenda for Children.[3] It is the result of five years of CDF issue selection and research. We intend to concentrate on those children most at risk in our nation—those without homes, education, health care, child care—in sum, those who lack the basic level of decency in this rich nation essential to survival and growth. This year we have four immediate, modest, cost-effective legislative goals that we can accomplish with your help and that would help millions of American children.

☐ Passage of the child welfare provisions of H.R. 7200, which would offer a glimmer of hope for the over 500,000 children without homes

☐ Enactment of the Child Health Assessment Program (CHAP) to increase the number of Medicaid-eligible children who are not now reached by the Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis and Treatment (EPSDT) program

☐ Reauthorization of Head Start in its present location and a $230 million increase to enable it to serve 6 percent more needy children above the 21 percent now reached

☐ Reauthorization of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) with strong parent participation requirements, targeting of funds on the neediest children, and adequate provisions to ensure that services in fact reach them.

Child advocates and the nation know enough to act positively and immediately to feed, clothe, house, educate, care for and provide a floor of decency for every American child. And we can do so fairly and humanely. It is now fashionable in Washington to wring hands and decry how we don't know what to do about anything in this country or that nothing works. Hogwash! We know how to feed children. We know what health care they need. We know about the importance of families to their healthy development. The issue is one of commitment, implementation and political will.

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[3] Copies of the Agenda and the status and numbers of the specific bills we are supporting are available free of charge from the Children's Defense Fund, 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

How do we meet the diverse needs of our diverse children, and where is the political push to make this happen? This question gets to our last lesson, which is the 1978, 1980 and 1985 answer to our 1977 disappointment about results.

Lesson 9: *We must organize.* Whatever we achieve for children depends more on what we do than on what those in power will do on their own. *We have the capacity to get things done for children with organization, staying power and votes.* It doesn't take massive numbers. It takes a network of well-trained, committed, politically conscious advocates. As long as children's interests remain outside the political process, their interests will be shortchanged.

I hope that as many as possible will join with CDF on a few of the issues on our national agenda so that through the strength of our numbers we can begin to put children first on the national public policy agenda.

Children don't vote; we adults have to vote for them. Their families often lack the confidence, information, access and resources to question or affect governmental policies so vital to their children's lives and future. As a result, children's needs are shortchanged. We must begin to correct this imbalance.

WHAT ARE SOME BARRIERS TO CHANGE FOR CHILDREN?

I want now to briefly address some of the common reactions of those who don't know about children's needs or who won't agree that children's advocates should become more political. First, whenever we ask for any change in children's programs, we're going to hear that there is no money. Don't accept this argument. People always seem to find money to spend for so many less important things if there is a political demand for it. Education *is* expensive, but not nearly as expensive as ignorance. Health care *is* expensive, but not nearly as expensive as untreated illness. Family services are expensive, but not as expensive as long-term institutionalization for children. Differentiated services provided at a community level for those youth who need them cost money but not as much as our welfare rolls, unemployment and the prisons that are filled in part as a result of neglect. Let us begin to have a realistic debate on what is costly in this country.

Second, we have all heard the argument that helping children and families means government interference in family life. That's not the real issue. None of us think that government should dictate private family values or choices about how to raise our children. But all of us should recognize that government *already* interferes in family life, often in negative ways. The question is how can we prevent government from hurting children and breaking up families?

We talk about being pro-family in this country but look at our policies. Look at our federal and state fiscal patterns. We pay the least amount of money to keep families together through our welfare system. Half of our states penalize an unemployed father if he lives at home by denying support. We pay a higher amount of money to place children out of their homes in foster care, and in many of our states we'll pay more to place a child with a non-relative than with a relative. Now think about that in terms of the extended family concept we profess to support. And we'll pay the most amount of money to place children in institutions, where they often remain indefinitely in limbo, far away from their families and communities. We give lip service to "family," then act to undercut it in practice.

A lot of us are going to hear that it is solely their families' fault and responsibility if children have problems. And a small majority of families do hurt and neglect their children. But it is more true, as the Carnegie Council on Children report[4] points out, that our public policies have not kept pace with the reality of family life in America. Too many of us hold mythical views of the typical American family being a wage-earning father and a mother who stays home to care for two healthy children. This family image reflects only one of 16 American families today. It ignores those many millions of families who are poor, single-parent, teenagers or possess a handicapped child or parent, many of whom need different kinds of help at different times. Indeed, the reality of today's America is that all families need some help in raising children.

As people concerned about children we must recognize that, as important as it is to work on a one-to-one basis with families and children, it is equally or more important to tackle the range of socioeconomic, political, media and other technological forces that make it difficult for all families to cope and thrive. A realistic political and social policy for children and families requires us to recognize in our reform efforts the socioeconomic forces that impact profoundly on family life.

We're going to hear that we're pushing for more government bureaucracy and more paperwork. Well, I answer that we're pushing for more governmental accountability. Let us give *parents* the tools to act on their own children's behalf. Give *parents* access to information so that they know what's going on, and ask the right questions. They should begin to enforce the laws on behalf of children at the local level without having to go to HEW to prod often unresponsive state and local governments. Give *parents* administrative remedies to deal with their own problems in their own communities.

We're going to hear that government doesn't know how to do anything. Some point to the 1960s and note all the things that didn't work. A lot of things *didn't* work in the '60s. But a lot of things *weren't tried* well in the '60s. Moreover, a lot of things *did* work in the '60s (like Head Start) which must be built on and strengthened.

The task now is to be specific about what programs and approaches do and do not work for which reasons, what can be built on and what can be discarded. While government can't do everything, it can do a heck of a lot. Our task is to address what specific steps government can undertake to support families and children to complement our own efforts on the outside.

[4] *All Our Children* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977).

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

Too many people feel "I'm just one person." Or "We're so few, what can we do?" Or "Nobody in my community or school or department wants to get involved." Or "Why should I hassle myself?" Or "I'll just make everybody mad at me and my child if I'm a parent and I protest." How much injustice is tolerated under these and similar excuses! If every black person had taken this attitude about segregation—it was mighty bleak in this country in the '30s, '40s and '50s and '60s—we'd still have it. If every woman who wanted to vote had given in to despair, we'd still be disenfranchised. And if Jane Addams and her few friends had given up in the face of the horrors of child labor and the poverty of immigrant children around them, how long would those conditions have remained and how many more children would have been harmed?

Each of us has to begin first with ourselves. Each of us can do little things—write a letter, stand up in small ways by questioning a decision or protesting a condition in our faculty or social work or PTA or other committee meetings which we think harms children. Each of us can prod when programs are not working or the law is not being enforced the way it ought to be. As parents, as teachers, as kindergarten teachers, we can go that extra mile. Start standing up for children in little ways, and you will find that you'll begin to stand up in bigger ways. Build your strength, step by step. Grow.

Use the political process even though you are going to hear that children should be above the political process. Well, they have been above it but never enough in it. As a result, their needs are always at the bottom of the totem pole. The political process is the established way to change things in America. People outside it don't stand an equal chance. The absent voice of children means others are using the political process to take care of their own and not children's needs. I'm going to provide a voice because I want children's needs to be taken care of, and you and others have to do the same in every city council and state legislature and in the Congress of the United States.

We can begin now to expand our roots by using our vote and our political voice to accomplish specific goals for children. By setting forth realizable goals as CDF does in its Agenda, we can build step-by-step the national house of decency that all our children need.

In America we can build a house, guided by caring adults, big enough to share with and nuture all our children. It is up to each of us to contribute to that house in the way we feel most confident—some can help lay the foundation, others can nail in planks, add bricks, put in pipes, build the roof, depending on your skills and resources. The important thing is to care and to act effectively where you are with what you have.

Photo: Sugar Maple, by Daniel Farber, Worcester, Mass.

The Roots of Growth

AGNES SNYDER

CHILDREN NEED TIME TO GROW

You cannot hurry human growth.
It is slow and quiet,
Quiet and slow
As the growth of the tree.

Only when its roots go deep,
Deep within the earth that nourishes it—
Its own earth,
Its own soil—
Will its branches spread wide,
Wide as the earth is wide.

Human growth needs time—and we have so little of it. So much to learn, so much to do, so little time—a major dilemma of our culture. The scholar looking avidly at the books lining the walls of a library battles with frustration as he realizes that in his brief lifetime he can master only a small part of the contents of those books. The housewife with ideals of cleanliness and beauty for her home closes her day with a sigh as she thinks of the things left undone. The artist works with a sense of urgency as time goes on and the ideas flooding his mind find comparatively meager expression. . . . We know that our one pair of feet can tread but a small area of plain and mountain; that our one pair of ears, our one pair of eyes can hear and see only fragments of the wonders of the old earth.

So we hurry. We short-cut this; we lop off that. We try to crowd all we can into a lifetime. Why? Part of the answer is found in the power of imagination, in the human ability to see infinite possibilities in situations, to think in terms of ideas and ideals often way beyond the power of individual accomplishment. Browning expressed it when he asked, "Should not our reach exceed our grasp?" Of course it should. The impulse to outreach ourselves has brought about our greatest achievements. But today this impulse which is the very essence of human dignity has become distorted until instead of a major asset it has become a major liability.

Gradually the output of the machine has become our standard of value against which we measure human achievement. Here lies the real explanation of the distortion of the impulse to achieve. How slight in quantity is the product of a pair of human hands against that of a machine! Without realizing it, deep within our generation there has been developing through comparison with the machine a feeling of inferiority, a feeling which we frantically try to allay by pushing ourselves to the limit of endurance through days of hectic activity. We go on propelled by a mighty force we call the pace of modern life. Even though it consume us, we accept its mastery with only an occasional feeble protest. We catch its spirit. And worse, we pass it on to our children.

We find it so very difficult to accept the slow pace of growth from infancy through childhood, through adolescence, into maturity. We are so proud when our child at ten can do what is normal at twelve. It is so very difficult to let children live fully in their own world at

At the time of writing this article, which first appeared in the December 1945 issue of CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, Agnes Snyder was teaching at The Cooperative School for Teachers and the Mills School, New York City. Still basic are the three principles she considered significant in planning for child growth through the curriculum.

their own pace when all around are haste and anxiety; so difficult to remember that there must be time for children to play—that they learn through play. For example:

An adult asked a child at a workbench what he was doing.

"Making a box," he answered without stopping his work.

The adult persisted, "What kind of a box?"

"A radio box," he replied, still working.

And still the adult was undaunted. "But have you a radio to put into it?"

"No!" emphatically.

"But why don't you make a box that you can use? There are so many real things you can use boxes for."

The child stopped hammering. His face was a mixture of annoyance, amazement, incredulity as he shouted, "I can *play* I have a radio, can't I?"

Such misunderstanding of the child's world will continue to occur until there is far greater recognition of the principles of growth than there is today. There are not many, but they are very important. Of first concern is the recognition of the need of children for time: *A good program for children takes into account the pace at which children grow.*

Application of this principle entails the continuous study of maturity levels—physical, mental, social, emotional—which children can reach. It demands time for children to develop muscular coordination sufficient to acquire physical skills with enjoyment instead of strain; time for children to build up a wealth of experiences through the senses and muscles before verbalizing adult concepts; time to pass naturally from the early absorption in self into gradually widening circles of human interest; time for children to feel with all the abundance of early childhood emotion and to move slowly into finer gradations of feeling; time for children to think, to wonder.

A little Chinese girl sat under a mulberry tree long ago and watched a silkworm nibble at the leaves above her. She watched and she wondered as the worm twisted and twisted the thread around his body. She had time enough to wonder. No bell rang to hurry her off to the next class. No one interfered as day after day she unwound the thread of the house the silkworm had built. No one called her off to something considered more important, as with the help of a weaver—who also had time to wonder—she discovered that the thread could be twisted and woven into a beautiful fabric. It was thus, the story says, that out of the wondering of a child, silk was discovered.[1]

Children need time to grow; time to think, to feel, to wonder. Regimented schedules with quick change from class to class; regimented promotions with the stigma of failure for those who have not covered a given amount of ground in a given time are utterly incompatible with normal growth.

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[1] Told by Lucy Sprague Mitchell and Margaret Wise Brown in *Animals, Plants, and Machines.* Boston: D. C. Heath, 1944. Reprinted with permission of publisher.

Every Child Has His Own Pattern of Growth

There are many patterns in human growth,
Varied in their structure
And their texture
As the many patterns of the tree.

Only when its roots go deep,
Deep within the earth that nourishes it—
Its own earth,
Its own soil—
Will its pattern unfold,
Unfold as the pattern of a tree
In grace or strength,
In lightness, depth,
The pattern of its own
Unique development.

There are individual patterns of human growth. The diversity of these patterns is limitless. It is the ideal of democracy to respect this diversity of pattern and to encourage the development of every individual consistent with his own potentialities. The true democracy recognizes no absolute worth but measures achievement on a scale of relative values that takes into consideration many such factors as time, place, and the needs of the situation. The talents of the head-hunter from the jungles of the Pacific Islands would probably be wasted in a chemical laboratory, but how long would the reasearch worker in that laboratory survive in the jungle of the head-hunter!

Many a person of vision who can develop a broad plan sound in conception and stimulating in content lacks the ability to cope with the details in executing the plan. On the other hand, frequently good detail workers can follow a plan but not conceive one. Each type has its value in reference to the needs of varying situations.

There are those who have creative power in abundance in their own right; there are others who produce little themselves but stimulate others to produce. Who is to say which of these is the greater talent?

There are those whose physical strength is of value in enduring long hours of heavy toil; there are others, frail in body but strong in spirit, who likewise carry forward in times of stress. The true democracy makes no hierarchy of human abilities but encourages self-realization in terms of the individual's own growth pattern.

But just as our culture is characterized by feverish haste, so is there a tendency—perhaps also an insidious unrealized influence of the machine—to place undue value on the ability that produces practical, obvious, and immediate results. It is as if we listened to an orchestra so unbalanced by the brasses that the wood winds and the strings were drowned out. So used have we become to epic events that we are no longer attuned to the delicacy of the lyric. Thus we pass by some of the finest patterns of human growth.

Will education help to restore balance and direct our efforts more surely toward the realization of that respect for the individuality of man which is the essence of democracy? If it will, then those who have the responsibility of developing programs for children need to be guided by a second principle: *A good program for children takes into account and respects the individuality of every child.*

There are classrooms which are animated by this principle—classrooms in which children respect the honest efforts of each other; where there is no thought of superiority or inferiority because of race, creed, mentality or talent; where each has a secure place in his own group. It is profoundly moving to watch such a group at work and at play. It is like a glimpse in miniature of the future world of the democracy toward which we have been so long and so painfully struggling. It is, too, like a message of assurance that if this world can actually exist even for a little while among child groups that these same child groups will carry each year a little more of it into adult groups.

Children Grow Through Guidance in Meeting Their Problems

Pace and pattern of human growth
Are nurtured
In the earth,
In the soil,
The warm earth,
The rich soil,
And gather strength
As the roots go ever deeper
To the source
Of its own life,
In its own earth,
Its own soil.

Its own earth, its own soil—the problems of living as they confront anew each generation. These are the materials of learning, of growth. Fundamentally they are the same for every generation—to maintain health of body and mind, to find satisfying work, to get along with each other, to enjoy and create beauty, to believe in something that gives meaning to life. But they manifest themselves differently as time and place vary. Today they are terrifying in their complexity. Terrifying, too, is the release of so many forces that can be used in the solution of the age-old problems.

We speak of a new age, the atomic age. It seems better not to think of the release of atomic energy as bringing a new age but rather as bringing us in an end spurt to the climax of the power age. What that new age shall be is now being determined as still shocked, stunned, awed by the demonstration of the power of the atom, we face the aftermath of World War II. Have we the wisdom to meet its problems? Or have we been so busy in making shortcuts to growth that many of its finer patterns have been repudiated? Will we be able now to take the decisive step out of the power age and carry its values with us into a new age of respect for human personality?

The answer depends largely on our ability to capture those moments of true democratic living among child groups and make them the rule rather than the exception. If we would do so, then we need to be guided by a third principle: *A good program for children consists fundamentally of guidance in meeting the problems of living.*

Application of this principle calls for the continuous examination of the environment—physical and cultural. The teacher asks himself, "What are the problems that confront these children I am guiding? Have they food enough? The right food? Enough sunlight? Have they the love of a mother? A father? Do they reflect the anxieties of the home? Do they voice the prejudices of the home, the community? Have they the habit of success? Of failure? Do they like themselves enough to like others? What are the resources of the community that I can use to further the growth of these children? What conditions in the community are unfavorable to the growth of children? What can I do about them?

These are but samples of the many questions in the mind of the teacher as he digs deep to get at the roots of his children's growth. It is the answers to these questions that determine the nature of the program he plans, always with an eye on the pace and pattern of growth of individual children.

We cannot afford to be trivial. We need to dig deep down to the roots of our culture and reassess our values. We need to come up from that digging with a fresh affirmation of values, for it is our values that have gone astray. The new age of respect for human personality needs, first of all, a clear articulation of the values from which it will evolve.

The Greatest Gift

Leslie J. Chamberlin

—Susie Fitzhugh, Baltimore, MD

Leslie J. Chamberlin challenges teachers to release the great potential in every child as he offers them some helpful advice. The author is Professor and Chair, Department of Educational Administration and Supervision, Bowling Green State University, Ohio.

CHILDREN LEARN by trying. Learning is rarely a passive or meaningless phenomenon. To learn, a child does not simply allow events to happen. The learning process requires that the learner will be willing to take risks. To do this, the child must have self-confidence and trust the teacher. Repeated success in learning is likely to increase a student's interest in learning and have a positive effect on his or her self-concept. The student with little confidence in his or her ability to learn is unlikely to persevere very long in any effort to solve learning difficulties. Lack of motivation in instilling in students a desire to learn is the central problem of education today.

Weak motivation is an unfortunate situation, especially since "schooling" is actually not essential to learning, because most of life's learning occurs without any "schooling" at all. The two most complex skills one ever learns—walking and talking—occur almost entirely without any formal schooling. It is obvious that "to learn one must want to learn," and most children learn to walk and talk because they are highly motivated.

Repeated success in coping with academic demands of schooling in the early years produces many benefits. It appears to create a type of "immunization" from later emotional illness. The mental health of some students is at stake. Success at lower levels of school insures that the individual can better withstand stress and anxiety at higher levels. School success seems to help to inoculate the individual against later stress and anxiety (Bloom, 1977).

Repeated failures seem to increase the possibility of emotional illness, which students may incur in later years (Bloom). Failure implies impotence. Unfortunately, studies done by William Purkey and others suggest that teachers unconsciously direct their teaching to the upper one-third of their class, while discouraging the other two-thirds, thus creating an unequal opportuntiy to learn in a group teaching situation (Purkey, 1970).

Therefore, the greatest gift that a teacher can give a student is an understanding that the student is constantly growing, that his or her potential is great, and that the teacher believes and expects the student to learn and improve. The gift is a combination of a positive attitude toward students and the expectancy effect. Our language has many terms that refer to this. "The great gift" might also be called a belief in one's self, self-sufficiency, self-confidence and/or motivation. Good teachers are capable of setting this force in motion.

Basic Understandings

To understand the above philosophical statement and to be able to pass on the great gift from teacher to student, one must believe that:

☐ People are basically good and are constantly trying to improve in every aspect. The teacher's biggest job is to encourage students to try to mobilize all the natural resources of their bodies and minds toward improvement.

This desire to improve may be the least understood force on earth. When we respect more fully the natural drive of the human mind and body toward perfectability, we will be more capable of transmitting the great gift. Protecting and cherishing that natural drive toward improvement may well represent the finest aspect in teaching others.

☐ Everyone has the need to feel good about himself or herself. A child will generally behave in ways that lead to recognition, admiration and respect according to his or her perception (Combs, 1962). As teachers attempt to motivate students, they should make each child feel important.

Psychologists might call this "stroking." However, regardless of the term used, stroking, encouragement, praise or reinforcement, it is a very important part of making others feel respected and recognized.

☐ Fear is an inhibitor that usually lowers rather than improves performance levels. Success, or the prospect of success, is the best activator teachers have for motivating the school-age child.

So often teachers think of becoming positive only after trouble has developed. When a punitive climate is established, generating problems, they then try to offset the damage by structuring a program to bring about student behavior that couldn't be forced in the first place. The time for positive thinking is in the early stages of activity, not after problems develop.

☐ Manipulating children's environments in order that they may learn is part of the teaching/learning process.

☐ Teachers have the awesome responsibility of being the manipulators, whether they know it or not. What is a teacher's task? A quick answer is, "to teach," which says nothing; nor is it helpful to append a list of subjects the teacher is to teach, such as reading, writing or social studies. The question really concerns what a teacher must do that children may learn. The primary obligation of the teacher then would seem to be to make the environment and the learning tasks meaningful to students. In the long run, *what* a child learns in school may be less important than the fact that he or she *learns* and wants to continue learning.

☐ Everyone, including students, has the same psychological needs. People generally behave in ways that lead to the satisfaction of these needs. To the extent that we relate the task at hand to the satisfying of these needs, we will "motivate" the child. Most of us can verbalize our thoughts on how to motivate others, but we are usually unprepared to implement these ideas. We need to practice being input managers. We need to practice preventing the development of unsupportive climates by controlling our input into our environment. We need to act according to what we know to be the best way of relating to students. With regular practice, self-defeating traits can be replaced by healthy personality traits. They can be built into the teacher's *modus operandi* and become a natural part of classroom life.

How Teachers May Give the Great Gift

To give the great gift to their students, teachers should:

☐ *Avoid negativism.* Negative emotional states inhibit learning, forcing concentration, but rarely on the proper task, and tending to make impossible the shifts in attention that many learning situations demand. Anxiety usually produces rejection of, or even hostility toward, any person or thing perceived as the cause of the emotion. A student perceiving the teacher as responsible for negative emotions will most likely not want to identify or collaborate with such a person.

A child cannot be fooled into believing that "he or she is learning"; the child must *experience* it. That experience can be achieved only in a situation the child can handle. In the long run, more can often be obtained by demanding less.

☐ *Know and understand each student.* Teachers can do this by spending time with each student. Using interest surveys to assess the student's goals, attitudes and values can help. If a student is not clear as to what he or she wants out of life, it is important for the school to assist such students in clarifying their goals.

☐ *Project a positive attitude.* Behavioral scientists claim that the best way to establish or change an attitude is with an attitude. We know that enthusiasm begets enthusiasm. Teachers project positivism by: a) encouraging—expressing hope for an individual's success; b) validating—providing positive feelings and actions about the present situation; c) reinforcing appropriate behaviors.

Reinforcement for learning resides in success in meaningful learning. Achievement of a skill is adequate reinforcement for learning the skill. However, other reinforcement might be regarded as a signal to a child that he or she has done something successfully.

☐ *Be a helper.* A key motivation is the student's clear awareness that the teacher is also working to help the student achieve his or her goals. If the student wants to be an automobile mechanic and is working toward this goal and the teacher facilitates this, the student will be motivated to support the teacher. Unfortunately, many students believe that what they learn is irrelevant. They do not see the teacher as a partner in helping them achieve their life goals.

☐ *Collaborate.* Provide students with some voice and choice. Giving students a greater voice in their learning activities can improve productivity by lessening complaints, absences and waste of time. A frequent complaint students have about classroom life is being told to do something but not being told "why." When teachers and students can cooperate to their mutual advantage, there is a boost in classroom morale and an increase in productivity. This new collaborative approach on the part of teachers, school administrators and students can improve the quality of classroom/school life in its broadest sense.

☐ *Create success opportunties for students.* All students behave in ways that will lead to success and achievement according to their perceptions. Therefore, help students win. Praise even the slightest improvement and, wherever possible, try to ignore minor, inappropriate behavior. Encourage students to work in areas in which they feel they are ready. Let students know exactly what their tasks are and why they should do them.

Sometimes students will quit completely when the work piles up. Then it is wise to wipe the slate clean and allow a fresh start. Discouragement may result in no effort at all.

Never overlook or underestimate the learning value of repetition, for in practice there is an element important to the "achievement" need. Positive teacher comments and other incentives are of great value in motivating students to reinforce learning through practice.

Teachers must create success opportunities for students, for success often leads to further success. Success at one level of schooling assures success at the next level. Children do not resist learning; they resist situations in which they expect to fail to learn.

☐ *Care for physical needs.* Everyone seeks the satisfaction of physical wants and well-being. It is important, then, that we try to assist students with their basic needs if they are to function well. Make assignments a reasonable task and assist with locating and obtaining materials. Where possible, reduce the possibility of extreme fatigue.

☐ *Encourage risk-taking.* Everyone seeks safety and security, but many assignments require students to take a risk. To encourage risk-taking, teachers must be consistent as they deal with students, avoiding implied promises and keeping promises already made. Practice using words such as "yours" and "ours" instead of "I" or "mine." When students develop problems, let them save face. Give them a way out. Be adjustable and flexible. Avoid criticizing whenever possible, for criticism often discourages further risk-taking.

☐ *Help with social needs.* Everyone has social needs and will behave in ways that lead to feeling wanted and loved. Treat students with dignity and courtesy, even the extreme child. Instead of giving direct orders, ask if the student would mind doing a task.

Encourage your class to enjoy little things every day. Cultivate humor. People want to associate with happy people. Try to present a happy, receptive, open demeanor and look upon the positive side of every situation. Try to be a "vitalist."

☐ *Build feelings of value and worth in all students.* Listen more; talk less. Listening can be a form of recognition. Seek opportunities to express admiration of students. When a student exhibits appropriate behavior, indicate your respect and admiration for one who behaves in such a manner.

Solicit the students' points of view and ask them to participate in decisions that affect them; be sympathetic with their desires and ideas. Treating others in an authoritarian, dominating way denies a recognition of them.

Encourage children to think ahead in regard to how proud they would be if certain tasks were accomplished. Remind them of how "important others" will feel about their success.

☐ *Learn to communicate.* Communication must be expressed in terms with which students are familiar and consistent with their educational experience. Keep them informed. Tell them in advance about changes that will affect them, and give reasons.

Take time to check your communications. Ask if the student understands. Listen! Give clear, specific details. You may have to clarify your message. Consistently practice *regular*, routine communication. Attempt to communicate in an open, positive, honest way.

Attitudes are changed by information, not punishment. It may be necessary to convince a child that a learning task is worthwhile.

Catch 22

For teachers to give the "great gift," they must have received it themselves, for it takes courage to risk treating others in ways that are sufficiently positive to create an environment conducive to learning. In general, children learn best in a generally positive environment. Good teachers are "frog kissers." They look for the prince in everyone. They understand that there is a great potential in every child and they seek to release it. They see their job as that of establishing, in some cases restoring, a child's self-confidence.

Unfortunately, an open mind and readiness to change are not invariable characteristics of teachers. Rather, teachers often tend to be inflexible in their thinking and conservative in their attitudes. There are several reasons for such teacher attitudes: the kind of preparation they received in college; the rigid organizational structure in which they must function; and, most often, the attitudes and procedures modeled by the elementary and secondary teachers who taught them. In the final analysis, teachers tend to teach as they were taught. For many of us this means that we probably should change our own behavior first before trying to change others.

How about you? Can you give the "great gift"? Are you willing to kiss frogs? What message does your attitude convey to your students? Do they really believe that you are on their side and that you believe they all can win?

So, if you wish to give the "great gift" to your students, you may have to rethink what your role in the classroom is and become the kind of teacher who manages to create successes for all students. Then someday your students will be able to give to others "the great gift" of confidence in oneself.

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Building Bridges for Children

James L. Hymes, Jr.

SAN FRANCISCO is the right place for a conference with the theme of "Building Bridges." The graceful Golden Gate Bridge, the impressive Bay Bridge, and the other spans linking East Bay with South Bay and North Bay are visible evidence of the strength and growth that come when avenues are opened up for the flow of people and their ideas.

San Francisco is the right place *and* this year is, I fear, the right time for a focus on "Building Bridges." My work is in early childhood education; this may give me a biased viewpoint. But these days I am so much more aware of gaps and chasms than of connections. Some of the gaps have existed for years; some are more recent. But—old plus new—I fear we are plagued by a lack of bridges. We need more and better bridges within our profession of education. We urgently need more and better bridges bringing parents and schools closer together. And clearly parents and teachers together must build bridges joining today's schooling to the life children will lead in the world of tomorrow.

Building Bridges Within the Profession

Within our profession the old void between kindergarten and 1st grade persists, as does the ages-old void between nursery school and kindergarten. As new programs have developed or expanded in recent years, new gaps—not bridges—have come into being. Child care centers are separated from both nursery schools and kindergartens. Head Start is cut off from all others, as if it were a thing apart. There is even no bridge between Head Start and other programs for economically disadvantaged children. The void between privately financed programs and those publicly aided is wide and deep. There can be no doubt about it: As educators we are better at erecting walls and digging moats than we are at building bridges.

The result of separation is suspicion and coldness and misunderstanding. Worse: There is intolerance, and a lack of appreciation of the worth of programs whose differing names make them sound so different. In the absence of communication that could build understanding, a devastating pecking order is established. First grade (and always the worst side of the worst 1st grades) becomes top dog. Programs for 5-year-olds, 4-year-olds and sometimes even those for 3s feel they must imitate its style.

A kindergarten teacher reported recently on her teaching career, telling a tale not the least bit uncommon. "When I began teaching ten years ago we, of course, had no workbooks in kindergarten. Today we have four! Two in reading for some so-called Levels I and II, and one in science and one in math . . . " Without open, easy communication between all the early childhood efforts, each isolated program falls easy victim to a teacher-managed, talky, passive curriculum approach unsuited to the ages of children involved. Bridges could mean mutual support and greater strength for resistance, but the bridges have not yet been built.

Building Bridges Between School and Home

Just as urgently as we need bridges within our profession, we need more and better bridges between schools and homes. Periods of economic difficulty always open up the

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This is an adaptation of Dr. Hymes' presentation at the April 5th closing general session of the 1980 ACEI Study Conference in San Francisco.

In his inimitable style, James L. Hymes, Jr., urges educators and parents to share insights and aspirations, to muster support for children. Dr. Hymes is the author of Teaching the Child Under Six, *among other books. A Specialist in Early Childhood Education, he now makes his home in California.*

possibility of scapegoating. The danger is lessened when avenues of communication are wide and open, and when home and school can see each other often as friends. But these bridges do not exist today. Right now—with inflation, rising unemployment, a sense of burdensome taxation—the stage is set for charge and countercharge, for gripes and complaints and recriminations.

The charges are made that youngsters graduate who cannot read, that no one has ever really tried to teach them, that schools have no discipline, that teachers could care less, that boys and girls are dumped on society ill-prepared with knowledge and skills and crippled by bad work habits. Charge is met by countercharge: that youngsters come to school hungry and tired, stuffed with unsupervised TV, bringing along with them no motivation to learn and no incentive to be well-behaved.

In the din of the shouting match, we are each distracted from the fact that the past years have been difficult years in which to raise the young—and difficult years in which to teach the young. Neither at home nor at school has anyone had it easy and, if anything, the present is worse. Each of us, working under complicating and awkward conditions, has blamed ourselves for failing to do all we would like to do. And then each of us has blamed the other. Without bridges between us, neither home nor school has fully appreciated how hard the task has become of helping children to grow and to learn.

☐ It is a difficult task to raise children—and a difficult task to teach them—in a mobile society where roots and traditions and support systems are missing.

☐ It is a difficult task to raise children—and a difficult task to teach them—in a mechanized society where the labor, help and participation of children are not needed.

☐ It is a difficult task to raise children—and a difficult task to teach them—in a changing society where old values and old roles are being constantly sloughed off and new, not-yet-comfortable ways continuously being tried out.

☐ It is difficult for all who live with children when temptations abound, when lures abound, when distractions abound. It is difficult for all who live with children in a society invaded by TV.

☐ It is a difficult task to raise children—and a difficult task to teach them—in a society recovering from a war and still suffused with crime and violence.

☐ It is difficult to raise children—and difficult to teach them—in an ill-equipped society that will not face realities: the plight of working mothers who can find no good child care facilities; the plight of single-parents; the plight of the many, many families still mired in poverty.

In this new, strange, worrisome world in which we live, how do we teach morality, at home and at school? How do we stir the jaded, at home and at school? How do we motivate the hopeless?

We urgently need bridges to help us all better to appreciate what the other person is up against. Teachers, for example, need to feel what it is like to be a single-parent, and working, and poor. We urgently need bridges to help us all better to appreciate how hard the other person is trying. Parents, for example, need to know more of what it is like to teach a class of 30 children, alone and unaided, meeting curriculum pressures *and* the pressing needs of many troubled children. We urgently need bridges to create a sense of trust so that we each receive support rather than suspicion, mutual aid and assistance rather than antagonism.

Building Bridges To Support Mutual Goals

If home and school come closer together, I am convinced we will discover that we have more in common than we realize. I am sure we will see that we are both more humane than we show. And I know we will discover that we are both more concerned about children as total human beings than we let on.

One discouraged elementary school supervisor said to me recently about parents: "All they care about is reading and the scores their children get." This partial picture will prevail, if we don't build bridges that let us know each other better. This partial picture will keep us bogged down in petty fights, too exhausted and distracted to think about larger issues that matter greatly to both of us.

The young children in school today, barring manmade and natural catastrophes, will live past the year 2000, well into the 21st century. What will these youngsters need for a good life in that unknown world? Are we doing the right things for them today, in light of their future? Fights, mistrust, antagonisms and misunderstandings can keep homes and schools from confronting these questions. Good bridges, on the other hand, can let us share our insights and aspirations. They can increase the likelihood that our home and school approaches will move children toward the 21st century, rather than backward to the 19th.

It is hard indeed to prophesy what will matter most in the years ahead for children; but there are, I think, some broad strands on which I believe parents and teachers would agree. One, for example: *I am persuaded that parents and teachers both see the need for the development of sturdy, sound, mentally healthy youngsters.* The future will certainly demand children with resiliency and strength, able to take in their stride whatever comes along.

If we agree on this as one goal (among many), there is support for classrooms of warmth and friendliness, for programs of activity and movement, for curricula with variety and countless chances for success. If we focus on the development of healthy children, we will try to end classrooms of coldness and failure, building in their place centers of affection and achievement, of love and of learning.

Second, as another example, *I am persuaded that parents and teachers both see the need for the development of well-disciplined children.* Even in today's still relatively simple times, we are having to restrain ourselves in our use of water, of energy; we are having to make ourselves curb our speed and show care in the disposal of our wastes. The demands of the future are bound to be more stringent. Somehow we have to treat children today so they become moral youngsters, today and tomorrow. We have to find ways of acting toward children today so they become committed to the most helpful and thoughtful forms of association.

If we agree on this as another goal (among many), there is support for classrooms with reasonable rules that are supported by reason, rather than force. If we focus on the development of children who themselves accept and believe in the ways of decency, we will strive to toss out fear and the "quick-trick" methods of discipline which may make children "good" in the classroom, so long as the teacher is watching, but which can never sell them on thoughtfulness as a way of living for the long years of their future.

As a third example, *I am persuaded that parents and teachers, talking together, will both see the need for the development of social children: youngsters who have learned to work well together, who have learned to play well together, who can think together and draw strength from each other.* Today, and in the recent past, we have all seen a tremendous release of talent: the talents of non-whites, the talents of non-males. We have all seen how happenings in strange-sounding places—Teheran, for example, and Kabul, once hardly known to any of us—can touch our lives. The world of children's tomorrow is bound to be even more interconnected, with new strengths to be tapped, new problems of human relationships to be solved. We must be sure to treat children today so they grow into humans who enjoy other humans, and enjoy the process of learning to live with them.

If this goal of developing children who can get along with each other seems important, as I think it does to parents as well as teachers, there is support for classrooms based on activity, on problem-solving of real tasks, on movement and on cooperative action. This can lead all of us to want to end the competition that is so rife today, and to end the concept of classrooms as paper-and-pencil factories and shushed-and-sitting centers. These experiences today can never produce the citizens the world of tomorrow will need.

Let me mention one more goal on which, I believe, parents and teachers would certainly agree, if we could build bridges that would link us up. *I am persuaded that today's children must become thinkers, puzzlers, wonderers.* They must be "turned on" by the search for answers that matter to them. Any of us, looking ahead, can see the magnitude of the problems for the remainder of this century and of the years that follow it: water for all of us, food for all of us, peace, safe and adequate energy for all our tasks, the control of disease . . .

To help children live fruitfully in such a challenging world, school life today cannot be one of assigned tasks, irrelevant tasks, meaningless tasks. Learning cannot be like a deposit in the savings bank—someday you will be glad you have it. Parents and teachers engaged together in sizing up the world that lies ahead will give strong support to an education today that respects children's interests. They will strive for approaches that tap the drive and enthusiasm youngsters can bring to self-chosen experiences.

A friend from New York tells the story of her arriving in Oakland in the late 1930s, shortly after the Bay Bridge had been opened. She was proudly driven over the spectacular new span to a meeting in San Francisco. When it was time to return home, drawing on her New York background and knowing the many bridges that crossed the East River there, she asked her host if they could return to Oakland over another bridge. Her crestfallen friend angrily explained: "This is the only one we have."

And that is the moral of this whole presentation. Treasure the bridges you have. Firm them up. And when you return home build some new ones. There are allies who can be reached: within the profession, in homes and in our communities. Children today need all the support we can muster for them.

Real *teachers, harken! These words of rare pedagogical wisdom come directly from the October 30, 1977, edition of the widely syndicated newspaper column,* Capitol Punishment, *by courtesy of its author, the eminent statesman, raconteur and philosopher-about-town Art Buchwald.*

Ring around the Sheepskin

Art Buchwald

There is a tremendous concern in this country about our educational system. At least 1,567 commissions are studying it, 18,732 professors are now writing books critical of it, and every politician running for office is demanding a change in it.

I myself have opted for the Makepiece Plan, put forward by Harvey Makepiece of the Society for the Abolishment of the Three-Chocolate-Milk Lunch.

Makepiece told me, "It's obvious that 5- and 6-year-olds are not ready for grade school. Their minds and bodies are too fragile to take on the difficult tasks that their teachers assign to them. They should have more leisure and fun before they get down to work."

"What do you suggest?" I asked him.

"We send them to college first and let them work off their high spirits."

"I'm not sure I follow."

"Let first-graders have their first taste of school in college. Give them a chance to join sororities and fraternities, go to football games, frolic on the campuses, and have pantie raids in the dorms. College is not the time for serious school work and it is the perfect place for children from the ages of 5 to 9 to have a good time and get used to attending classes, where they can sleep, flirt or cheat on their studies.

"Very few demands are made on college students. They can cut classes, spend their days in the student union and their evenings listening to rock music."

"And then what?" I said.

"After four years of college, a child is ready to tackle high school. High school, as you know, is just a little tougher than college and a child would have to get down to work. Not too much work, but enough to get him or her interested in books. The student would still have an opportunity to attend football games, date once in a while, if he or she wanted to go to an occasional dance and drive around in a car after three o'clock.

"But high school would still give the youth a feeling that life is not a bowl of cherries and that he or she is going to have to take education seriously.

"Also the student would have to work hard because he or she knows that there are only a certain number of places open in grade school, and to be able to go on to the school of his or her choice would mean making the grades to qualify."

"Then," I said, "what you're advocating is that grade school be the last one a student must attend."

"That's correct. After the pleasures of college and the joys of high school, a student should be mature enough to face life in the tough world of grade school. There are no fraternities or sororities to distract them. Social life is at a bare minimum, teachers in grade schools don't take any back-talk from their students, and corporal punishment is permitted. Lower public schools have no football teams or extra-curricular activities. If the truth be known, it's an eight-year grind and no one accepts any excuses from a kid who can't make it from grades one to eight."

"But grade school is so long," I protested. "Do you think teen-agers could go the distance without dropping out?"

"No one drops out of grade school. All of them are prepared to come to grips with it, particularly when a grade school diploma will be the highest one that any student can receive. A grade school education under my system is what every parent in this country will want for his kid."

"But what about graduate school?" I asked.

"Those who want to go on to graduate school could enroll in kindergarten."

"You're advocating a complete reversal of the American educational system," I said. "Do you think this country is ready for it?"

"After what we've seen of our students for the past 10 years, this country is ready for anything."

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Uniqueness and Universality

Marajó Island, Pará, Brazil. By Monroe D. Cohen.

Margaret Mead

When I was given the assignment for a lecture related to your "I Am Somebody" program this year, the first thought that occurred to me was a favorite statement of a pair of identical twins I once knew. The twin grandchildren of my old professor, Franz Boas, used to chant to visitors, "Us knows what us ought to say. Us ought to say, 'I'!"

My association with your organization goes way back, to the late 1920s and 30s (the great advantage of having people my age around is that we have been around a long time!). I have thought it might be useful to go back in my mind to those early days, to think about what we would have done then about this problem of how to give a child a sense of his own identity.

Margaret Mead has subtitled these remarks "The Child's Need To Be Able To Say, 'I Am Somebody!'" They are excerpted from her speech to the Annual Study Conference of the Association for Childhood Education International, held at Washington, D.C., in April 1974.

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WHO-NESS AND HOW-NESS

In that period James Plant, an astute observer of children's behavior, wrote quite an interesting book, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern*. Plant divided the needs of the child into questions of "who-ness" and "how-ness." The task of the home, the family, was viewed as that of giving the child the sense of *who* he was (in terms of race, religion, nationality, genealogy, all those things that were regarded as inevitable and unchangeable). The school was considered responsible for *what* the child was to become, for complementing the home in developing his capacity to achieve. Thus, indirectly, the parents were treated as allies of the past and the teachers as allies of the children's different futures.

We took for granted for a very long time in the United States that all parents wanted their children to go beyond them. If the parents were illiterate, the child was supposed to go to high school. If the parents had gone to college, the child was to try for Harvard. This general scheme gave the teacher a very special place in the child's life.

In the mid-1950s we discovered, however, that there were about 40 million people in this country who did not expect their children to go on and up. Black people, for example, had found by bitter experience that their children might go to college and even get M.A.s and then end up as postmen. We also discovered that there were a very large number of children dropping out of school who, by IQ tests and such things, were called "college material." (You know what college material is—something you put into a college like meat into a sausage machine.)

A third of our children who were "college material" were not going to college; some were not even going to high school. With characteristic American handling of a situation, we called them "dropouts" and put the blame on them. It was quite a shock to realize that the image we had had was based primarily on a large number of foreign-speaking immigrants at the end of the last century and the beginning of this century, who had come here with a tremendous drive and had hoped that their children would succeed. We are getting the second generation of those children in college now. But meanwhile the situation in the whole country had changed.

Another point that seemed to me important and that made me realize this change more acutely is when my niece helped start a new school. (It seems that everyone I've ever known has started a new school, and I am always puzzled to know why there aren't enough schools already!) I read through the prospectus of my niece's school to see what ideas being expressed today were new-minted and how many were not. One thing I was very struck by is that this new school is called "The Learning Community." It would not have occurred to anybody in the 1920s or 30s to call a school a learning community; new schools were *teaching* communities where children were taught by people who had already seen the light and were going to impart it to their pupils.

I think it very valuable for those of you who are in the forefront of fighting new battles, setting up new programs, to know about the things that got started once before, things that very often failed but that left a residue making it possible to start them again. If you knew which great-grandparents to rely on and which texts you can look back to, you might have some strengths you would not have otherwise. I think for example of Lawrence K. Frank, who was the father of child development in this country. If he proposed an idea in the late 30s, the time is about right for it now. On the other hand, if you are proposing something brand new, it may come about at the turn of the century—and you can hope you will be here to see it. Each generation goes back to earlier efforts, picks up, and adds something.

INTER-ETHNIC EDUCATION

We did, or attempted to do, quite a lot with what was called intercultural or inter-ethnic education. You are going to have it again, a real breakthrough of the kind of education we tried to have in the 1940s. I remember I wrote an article for your journal ("Preparing Children for a World Society," April 1944) about how to give children in kindergarten and nursery school a sense of other peoples.

We now see coming up again a concern about ways in which individuals of each sex, each nationality, each skin color, each race is striving to relate its full identity to its own background. There will be new demands everywhere on early childhood education because we realize very acutely that this is the age we have a chance. It is not true that children do not have any race prejudices. But they haven't any consolidated attitudes yet; they are open to whatever we are going to teach them. I think there will be a great many requests for help in the schools in dealing with each child so that he or she will be able to have a sense of identity.

If each child is to have a sense of its uniqueness—that he or she is *somebody*—it must be somebody in the eyes of those who are trusted or admired, somebody in the eyes of its parents. And how can that be if the parents are denigrated, because of color, race, class, caste or occupation? It must be somebody in the eyes of its teachers, and how can that be if only one kind of success in school—in a school that is seen as a single ladder—is what calls forth the teacher's approval? It must be somebody in the eyes of the community, and how can that be if it is a member of a group that is left to starve in squalor and neglect? It must be somebody in its own right—not merely as a future citizen who will sustain the state or a future consumer who will sustain an omnivorous, consumption-oriented industry; not merely as the efficient parents of a nuclear family whose children will be guaranteed to want to live in the same kind of isolation.

One thing we owe all children is a situation where they can think their own parents are beautiful, without having to denigrate the way other children's parents look. The corrective for "white is beautiful" is not "black is beautiful." The corrective is "white is beautiful; black is beautiful; red, yellow—and some sects add green—are beautiful." My people in New Guinea added the green. When they talked about the people of the world, they would say all together, "Black, white, red, yellow and green." When asked if they had ever seen anybody who was green, they said, "Not yet!" I hope you have seen the cartoon where little green men from a flying saucer were looking at our latest space effort flying out to outer space. The caption: "They'll never believe this at home."

The conditions within which each child can feel it is somebody require not only face-to-face trust and recognition, but a transformation of the wider society. The conditions within which children can feel that each is somebody—somebody in their own right, somebody with unique and valued characteristics—require that children be conceived of as persons, before birth, even before conception: as persons valuable in themselves, not because of what they can do, but for what they are; not as a member of a lineage, or a party or a nation, but as themselves.

Do you remember Emily Dickinson's poem,[1]

I'm nobody! Who are you?
Are you nobody, too?
Then there's a pair of us—don't tell!
They'd banish us, you know.

How dreary to be somebody!
How public, like a frog
To tell your name the livelong day
To an admiring bog!

—VME Smith, Washington, DC

For the record, I am *not* saying that everybody should be a nobody. The point is rather that you can have a somebody idea that is entirely an artifact—name in neon lights, champion bicycle rider, baseball hero—for which only achievement and popularity and fame are emphasized, external things that don't indicate anything internal to the person. We are now going through a period when we are struggling with the problem of how to stop emphasizing achievement as just popularity or externability of some sort, but how instead to emphasize the person being somebody in his/her own right.

For each child to feel that it is somebody requires that children be allowed to move in every direction within the social system and within the world, *without prejudice:* the child of a doctor must be able to become a doctor or a garage mechanic or a politician; the son of a cannibal to become a doctor, and his son be able to remember that his grandfather was a cannibal, without shame. The descendants of witch-burners and the witches they burned must accept the aberrations of their ancestors without guilt, but with a painful awareness that the possibility of witch-burning will always be with us. Those whose forebears worked with their hands and those whose forebears worked with their heads must each have a chance to choose how they themselves will work. Those whose forebears labored and scrimped and saved to acquire material goods must be allowed to choose subsistence, and those whose forebears lived contentedly with the simplest amenities must be allowed to struggle to get running water into their villages.

COMMON ENTERPRISES

For each child to feel "I am somebody," it must have a share in a common dignifying enterprise—and since our recent ancestors' shares were extraordinarily different (and in any case are matters for which the present generation can claim no responsibility), the common enterprises in which we can all share are (1) the evolution of our most remote ancestors who took part in the great enterprise of becoming human beings—conscious, aware, human beings able to think and feel, see visions and dream dreams and (2) the planetary future of the human species on planet earth, where the participation of each group will be

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[1] *Poems for Youth,* Alfred Leete Hampson, ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1918), p. 2.

essential to the survival of any of us.

Children must become part of the whole human enterprise, not a helpless, malleable, deserving, promising section of passive individuals to be operated upon, educated, trained, conditioned, modified, manipulated and sacrificed for the rest.

"LET'S TAKE THE CHILDREN OUT!"

Looking back again to the time just after the first World War in the 1920s, we note that a tremendous number of very good people were interested in education. Go back and you see the giants of your own movement. They were wonderful people, dedicated people, imaginative people. What went wrong? Why are our children in such a terrible state today? Why are our schools in such a state? Why do so many people have to start over from scratch to get proper care and proper conditions in the schools?

As I went back and analyzed those great movements in behalf of children, I found we have made one well-intentioned but shortsighted error after another.

We said, "The courts are impossibly bad. Let's take the children out"; "The prisons are nightmares. Let's take the children out"; "Our high schools are great big, impersonal factories. Let's take the children out"; "Our cities are deteriorated, dirty and dangerous. Let's take the children out." So we invented juvenile courts; juvenile detention homes; junior high schools; the modern, one-class, one-age suburb—each of which has gone wrong. Thinking about children in isolation—without thinking about families, communities, the teachers who teach them, the caretakers who care for them—has been disastrous. Therefore, it is especially important in Associations like this, devoted to the special needs of children, to recognize that only by caring for all can we care for any. Only by seeing that an expectant mother is well-nourished can we protect the child she is carrying. Only by dignifying those who teach can we give dignity to those who learn.

INVENTING NEW WAYS

Today, studies of comparative education have given us the world to draw upon: the comparisons of Urie Bronfenbrenner of U.S. and U.S.S.R. children (*Two Worlds of Childhood: U.S. and U.S.S.R.*), Israeli kibbutz-educated children grown up, reports of large flocks of tiny children moving together like birds on the streets of Peking, experiments throughout Europe in teaching the deaf and the blind, studies of the effects of hospitalization and institutionalization on children, accounts of how little Eskimos and little Bushmen and little Pygmies master the techniques of their societies. A host of experiments, some new, some made by history for us, are here to yield us new data on which to base new insights. In a meeting such as this, we have opportunity to exchange these experiences and develop new and more inclusive goals, which emphasize both the need for diversity—the subject of last year's ACEI Annual Study Conference, held in Wichita, Kansas, U.S.A.—and universals that will make it possible for children to grow up in what would have been called One World in the U.S. of the 1940s, but that we think of today as One Earth, one planet where our fates are bound tightly together.

"I Am Somebody," the theme of your 1974 Conference, has to be placed in this contemporary perspective to emphasize that the children of today may never become mothers and fathers and grandparents of tomorrow, that the contrast between "the children of today are the citizens of tomorrow" and "the citizens of tomorrow are the children of today" may prove irrelevant in the face of man-made disasters of overpopulation, environmental destruction, and scientifically based, devastating war. Equally, we have to recognize that to give each child a sense of being somebody, we have to modify our culture-bound, period-bound notions that tie identity to ideas of dominance and achievement in a world of limitless growth, in which the chances of children of other countries of being somebody were tied inexorably to the processes of technological modernization with which the overemphasis of the immediate post-World War II period saddled the world. New humility about humanity's power to bend nature to its will has to be combined with new recognitions of what human beings may be.

Here in the United States we will have to invent ways to create an environment in which children's ties to their "who-ness," to their own parents, whom they love, can be combined with the school that is giving them things they haven't had. Home Start is a partial answer, but we aren't going to have the personnel to carry it out. It is as expensive as psychoanalysis. You know perfectly well we haven't enough analysts to go around, so it is perfectly useless to propose psychoanalysis as a general solution.

We haven't got very far yet in working out complementarity between the school and the home. Head Start tends to be too uniform. In some instances it is the perfect preparation for first grade (to enable children to stand it) and in others it is a bad preparation for first grade because it is so much better. But I think we are getting more efforts on the part of local communities, local schools, to adjust to what children need in *that* neighborhood in *that* city.

I want to mention particularly something being proposed today that I think has real promise. Larry Frank proposed it first in the late 30s, so I think it has a good chance now. A recent proposal was made to Senator Mondale's Subcommittee on Children and Youth calling for a Family Impact Statement, by which all public policies, beyond policies explicitly for children or for schools, should be examined for their impact on the family. Not on the family minus the child, but the child in the family.

Much has yet to be invented before we will have created the kind of environment for children that will make it possible for them all to be somebodies in their own right. To be sure, you can find specially gifted teachers now who can do this. You can always find specially gifted teachers who can do anything they are asked to do. One of the things we discovered when we started studying comparative education is that as long as there was a stable society it didn't make a bit of difference what method was used to teach children. You could teach by beating them or by giving them sugar plums. And you could teach them by giving the teacher a high status or by giving the teacher a low status. The good teachers came through in spite of everything. They imitated *their* good teachers who imitated their good teachers, and we had good teachers continuing.

But we need to make inventions today that can be replicated by the less imaginative and less creative too, because we will not have everybody in this country being a genius of imagination and creativity and they won't have models to imitate. We need to keep making inventions all the time like the great ones people made when they discovered that children were too small to sit on large chairs. Then they made the invention of unscrewing the desks; but they forgot to invent the teacher to go with the unscrewed desk, and we had a great deal of trouble. So when you are inventing a new environment, please invent the teacher at the same time so they can work together. And think of re-educating the principal too so that he is part of the modern world, as well as ways of re-educating grandparents and parents. Then our children will move forward because everyone around them is moving forward.

Section 5

The Future

The unifying element in all the articles selected for the future-oriented section of this book is the authors' desire to influence policies and practices that affect children. By examining the authors' predictions, educators of today can promote, prepare for or prevent future events in childhood education.

It is, however, with this common element that the similarity in the articles ends and the challenge for the educator begins: to examine the many messages and define a personal perspective of the future of childhood education. The articles contained here can provide background for much personal decision-making through the examination of topics that range:

- *from the fundamental to the futuristic*: While Robert Thurman reminds us of the utmost importance in any new venture of examining the fundamental soundness of the idea, approach or policy, Norman Henchey tempts us to postulate about the future. Thurman sets forth fundamentals for teachers, parents and children; these would serve as the basis for a sound program. In a tone appropriate for his *1984* theme, Henchey warns of pressures and trends that may alter and destabilize the foundations of society and, thus, transform our future.

- *from issues to ideologies*: With one eye on historical perspectives and the other on current research studies, Marce Verzaro-Lawrence focuses on emerging issues for the '80s and '90s. Through thought-provoking questions, specific issues and avenues to answers are explored. Similarly, but with a focus on issues and ideologies specifically related to ACEI's past and future, Sue Wortham challenges educators to expand the frontiers of their influence. The ideal ideology, according to Stewart Udall, is an ecological one. Emphasizing the interrelatedness of organisms and environments, Udall asserts that education can be a key to ecological balance and, ultimately, "hope for the future."

- *from the particular to the planetary*: The particular point that Robert Smith emphasizes concerns the ultimate purpose of any public policy effort: focus on knowledge and being while respecting the freedom of the processes of teaching and learning. A particular difference in Smith's article and others concerned with public policy is its focus on the private sector of education. In our continuing debate on the value and extent of public schooling, Smith presents thought-provoking notions. Regardless of the system of sponsorship of education, Chester Pierce believes children must be taught to view themselves as planetary citizens—taught in a way that helps them become "super-generalists" and "supra-nationalists."

- *from the reassuring to the reactionary*: Both Louise Berman and Ira Gordon raise concerns but reassure readers not only with their choices of words ("nurturing" and "lifelong learning"), but also with their assertions that educators have definitive roles in influencing the future. According to Berman, planning groups need to be formed and charged with developing mechanisms for lifelong learning opportunities. Likewise, Gordon calls us "future-oriented beings" who "know the pursuit of our goals is endless." Certainly, such beings should have the promotion of a learning society as a priority. To provide a measure of motivation for action, the Bloomberg and Postman (interview by Robinson) articles are included. In a "look back" on policies that influenced the adults of the "current" year 2005, Warner Bloomberg shows what could happen if concerns related to today's children are not addressed: lack of child-centered priorities; children living in poverty; child abuse; drug use. In an even more reactionary fashion, Neil Postman envisions an end to childhood. Throughout the interview described in the article, Postman reviews the reasons for his insistence that childhood is disappearing and, when pressed, offers some information for those who would reverse this trend.

By reviewing and reflecting on the articles included here, readers can perhaps appreciate and follow the example of our authors: active involvement with an attitude that says if you want to predict the future, be involved in designing it.—**Sandra L. Robinson, College of Education, University of South Carolina, Columbia**

Comment

Bring Back the Fundamentals

Robert S. Thurman

WE NEED TO TRY THIS INNOVATIVE IDEA is heard time and time again as educators attempt to improve the quality of school programs.

At times the emphasis is on organization—large groups in open space, small groups in a departmental setting, learning centers for individuals or middle schools for intermediate ages.

Instructional materials become the center of attention—learning kits, modules, programmed books, television.

Variations in staffing are tried. Teams consisting of several teachers are formed; paraprofessionals assist teachers; or volunteers are used to teach children.

Content and skills areas are not overlooked. Old math becomes new math; science projects stress process; language programs are for the disadvantaged child; reading systems having sequential levels are touted.

All too often, just as teachers are gaining an understanding of one innovative practice, it is replaced with a different one. As one teacher puts it, "It's getting to be like a baseball game; you need a score card to know what's going on." Yet, with all of the changes, with all of the money spent and with all of the promises, there is still great dissatisfaction with the quality of school programs.

Many parents, editorial writers and educators say we need to return to the three Rs. They point to scores on standardized tests as evidence that children are failing in reading and arithmetic. They quote high school and college teachers who say students cannot write acceptable papers. The solution, say these critics, is for the schools to return to the basics.

And they are correct. It *is* time to bring back the fundamentals.

But what are the fundamentals of a good school program? They are the elements that must exist before any organization can have a positive effect. They are the characteristics that determine the value of instructional materials. They are the beliefs that parents and teachers hold in common, the beliefs that give direction to the school program.

The fundamentals, in short, form the base on which the school program is constructed. Without them, the program is like a house built on sand. It shifts around and is unstable, making the occupants very uneasy. With the fundamentals, the program has a firm foundation and everyone has confidence in its stability. Teachers are more effective, children have good learning experiences and parents have confidence in schools.

Fundamentals for Teachers

The roles and tasks of teachers are not as clear-cut today as they appear to have been at another time. Today it is easy for a teacher to lack confidence, but not because of inadequate preparation or lack of skill or commitment. Rather, teachers are not sure that what they do really matters, or that it will benefit children.

Agnes Snyder wrote that teachers must "have a passionate belief in the significance" of what they are doing.* They develop this belief when they are active participants with meaningful responsibilities. They become participants when

☐ they have a voice in determining program goals and how the goals are accomplished

☐ they are active participants in program evaluation

Robert S. Thurman takes us beyond a narrow interpretation of the basics as he pinpoints fundamentals of a good school program —fundamentals that require no great outlay of federal funds, no new instructional materials, no retraining of teachers. Dr. Thurman is a Professor in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, College of Education, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

☐ they have time to teach and to interact with children
☐ they have consultants such as speech therapists, psychologists and social workers to turn to for advice and assistance
☐ they have opportunity to spend time with other professionals in the building and in the system to share information, plan programs and carry out projects
☐ they are encouraged and supported to attend professional meetings that enable them to develop new insights, skills and ideas
☐ they are kept fully informed of projected changes that affect school programs
☐ they have adequate facilities and work space
☐ help is available to handle routine records, collect monies and do clerical tasks
☐ they have access to personnel who help plan and develop instructional materials
☐ they have time to give thought to what needs to be done and to plan how to do it
☐ they have the opportunity and are encouraged to try different approaches to accomplish the goals of a program
☐ they are assigned only to positions for which they are professionally prepared
☐ they have the right to say "no" when pressures are exerted to make changes or to use materials that are not in harmony with the goals of a program or in keeping with the best that is known
☐ they have a voice in the selection of persons who are to provide leadership in the school.

It is not enough for teachers to know. Teachers must be in a position to do . . . as teachers.

Fundamentals for Children

Today's children, say many writers and teachers, know more about the world, have larger vocabularies, are able to assume greater responsibilities and to learn many more things than children of the past.

These children can achieve their greatest potential at school when

☐ each child feels safe and valued
☐ each child is protected by adults—teachers and parents—from pressures to learn skills, content and behaviors that are not appropriate at the moment
☐ each child is valued regardless of race, sex or socioeconomic background
☐ each child has a reasonable expectation of self
☐ each child has time for self during the school day
☐ each child is in a working society at school where members know and interact with one another
☐ each child has worthwhile responsibilities to assume
☐ each child feels an attainable challenge in the program
☐ children and teacher cooperatively set goals
☐ children participate in selecting learning activities
☐ children are informed of changes in the school program that affect them
☐ children participate in conferences involving parents and teachers.

Fundamentals for Parents

Parents are viewed all too often by themselves and teachers as passive contributors who provide children and funds for the school. They are more than this, however.

As products of the school, parents have

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* Agnes Snyder, "This We Believe," *Readings from Childhood Education* (Washington, DC: Association for Childhood Education International, 1966), p. 1.

some understanding of what the program is. As citizens and workers, they have ideas of what is needed to live in their society. As parents, they have various aspirations for their children. They bring different insights about the purposes of a school program to add to those teachers have. They have access to resources that can enrich what children and teachers do. They provide broad-based support for what the school does. And, they have another view of their children that teachers need as they develop a program for each youngster.

Parents can make a fundamental difference to a program when

☐ they participate in establishing program goals
☐ they participate in the school evaluation program
☐ they have a parent advisory group at each school
☐ they have access to the school and classrooms
☐ they have ready access to teachers
☐ they are kept fully informed about proposed changes in school program and are given opportunity to react before changes are made
☐ they are kept informed about their children's progress through a variety of approaches, including written reports and regularly scheduled conferences.

Fundamentals of the Program

The school program is the totality of the child's experiences for which the school has responsibility. It is more than the three Rs, although these are included. It is more than teaching social skills, although these are developed.

The school program has meaning when

☐ broad, attainable goals are defined
☐ purposes of the educational program for each individual school are clarified
☐ the program relates to the everyday life of children
☐ the educational program has relationship to life outside of the school
☐ a balance is maintained in developing basic skills in reading, writing, arithmetic, social studies, science, music, physical education, art and health
☐ skill and content areas are integrated
☐ there is continuity throughout the program
☐ there is a focus on values
☐ the program provides large blocks of time, so children and teachers can work without interruption
☐ the organization is determined by program goals
☐ there is continuous evaluation.

What Is the Cost?

This return to the fundamentals requires no great outlay of federal funds. No new instructional materials are needed. No retraining of teachers must be planned.

Only three things are required:

Trust. Trust in teachers, trust in children and trust in parents—a belief that they can and will do what is needed.

Time. Time to plan, time to study, time to work. People cannot be rushed. A good program takes time. It evolves slowly.

Willingness to begin. Willingness for teachers to take a small step, for parents to be heard, for administrators to encourage.

If as much energy and time are spent to bring back these fundamentals as are spent to bring in new math or to attempt team teaching, our schools will experience an educational revolution—one that will *last* because it has a solid foundation and broad support.

That is fundamental.

Looking at the Future from 1984

Michael D. Wise, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Norman Henchey

Most of us feel a certain amount of relief now that the year 1984 has changed from an image of the future to a page of the past.

Since George Orwell wrote his novel in 1948, the year 1984 has been a date unlike any other. However we react to Orwell's work—as novel, as science fiction, as social satire, as warning or as prediction — we have a certain apprehension about the future and cannot lightly set aside the spectre of newspeak and Big Brother.

It is not hard to find examples of newspeak in the euphemisms of official communiqués, and electronic surveillance makes possible a good deal of intrusion into our privacy by various kinds of Big Person (even newspeak should avoid sexism). Yet 1984 in fiction did not very much resemble 1984 in fact.

Now that 1984 is no longer the future, we must look anew at the future and consider what possibilities may be before us.

PRESSURES AND TRENDS

The future is shaped by the past and the present. If we wish to look at the future from 1984, we have to examine the pressures and trends shaping our society today, not only in North America but increasingly in all developed and less-developed nations. There are six pressures of major significance: the transformation of knowledge; the communications revolution; economic turbulence; shifts in power structures; new concepts of work, education and leisure; and the search for meaning.

1. The Transformation of Knowledge

It is widely acknowledged that we are in the midst of an information explosion, and it is becoming common to refer to our society as an information society. An important transformation is taking place in knowledge and its place in our society.

First, there is the obvious increase in the quantity of information being generated by research in every field and being diffused widely throughout the world. Second, there is the improvement in our methods of classifying and working with knowledge and in our techniques of acquiring knowledge. Electron microscopes, radio telescopes and powerful computer systems expand our ability to acquire data and give us greater power to control and organize data. Third, there is the speed with which knowledge is expanding and with which it is being transferred to technical applications, especially in such areas as biotechnologies. Fourth, knowledge work and "knowledge industries" are becoming more and more important in our economies. They occupy an increasing part of our workforce and form a major thrust of our economic development.

Norman Henchey is a Professor in the Department of Administration and Policy Studies in Education, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. This article is an adaptation of Dr. Henchey's keynote address at the ACEI Study Conference in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, June 24, 1984.

Finally, at a deeper level still, transformations are taking place in our assumptions about knowledge and in our frameworks of understandings, the fundamental paradigms that map our perceptions of the world, our society and ourselves. New insights from particle physics, astronomy, ecology, brain research and biology are challenging the traditional mechanistic, scientific world view we have taken for granted for centuries in Western Europe and North America. These new models are beginning to affect many professional, political and economic areas of our society and to call into question some of our prevailing wisdom about power, learning, health and human rights.

2. The Communications Revolution

We are all conscious of the spectacular development of communications technologies. We are inclined to think mainly of the increasingly sophisticated hardware of television, computers, chips, robots and satellites. But these are just some of the visible manifestations of the communications revolution, which includes studies in artificial intelligence and symbionics (direct brain-computer links), biochips and information networks.

The revolutionary nature of these developments in our capacity to communicate lies less in the individual technologies and more in the fact that they all are linked in a total system or environment that is provoking us to rethink what we mean by human intelligence, natural reality and social interaction.

3. Economic Turbulence

Since the oil crisis of the early 1970s, we have been living in what Peter Drucker calls "turbulent times" (1980). Many countries have been experiencing erratic shifts in unemployment, inflation and economic development. More recently, the vulnerability of the international monetary system, volatile markets for goods and services, and anxiety about the durability of periodic recovery trends have heightened a sense of insecurity in almost every nation and every sector of society.

This sense of economic uncertainty, which is global in scope, has been sharpened by two factors: the disparity between rich and poor nations and the likely impact of the new technologies, especially word processing and robotics, on employment patterns. The result has been growing competition for leadership — among nations, among regions in a nation, among various sectors of the economy and among various social groups. Our confidence in continuous progress has been seriously undermined.

4. Shifts in Power Structures

We also are finding our traditional patterns of power beginning to change. Dependence on and loyalty toward various institutions are being called into question. Political parties, legal systems, health institutions, business corporations and educational structures are feeling new pressures from special interest groups, critical clients and consumers, and more independent individuals.

The successes of civil rights and women's, environmental and consumer protection groups have changed the power structures of our institutions, just as revolutionary movements have changed the power structures in the Third World. Institutions and leaders of all kinds have to adjust to a society that is increasingly pluralistic if not fragmented, changing if not fluid and complex if not unmanageable.

5. New Concepts of Work, Education and Leisure

Until recently, it was possible and helpful to make neat distinctions about what was work (job), what was education (school) and what was leisure (recreation). It was even possible to see the life of a person unfolding in a linear way: birth and childhood (leisure), childhood and adolescence (education), adulthood (work), old age (leisure).

These distinctions are no longer useful and are misleading. As work becomes more knowledge-based, it blends with education; as people rely less on large institutions and more on their own skills and initiative for their work, their leisure and working activities often converge; as we are all faced with continuing development of our working skills and personal potential, education becomes a lifelong activity. There is a marked trend to disengage education from schooling, work from job and leisure from recreation. Our lives are becoming more like blends than layers.

6. The Search for Meaning

As we become more self-conscious as individuals and communities, we become more aware of the importance of finding a system of meaning for ourselves, a structure of values and perceptions that will help us make sense of our lives and guide us in our journey. Meaning, context and transcendence are important sources of goals and support.

For some, these sources of meaning are found in a clear religious, cultural, ethnic or family tradition or in identification with a physical location. For some, the source is knowledge or art or an occupation. For many, changing cultural patterns, developing technologies, growing complexity, and declining affiliation with a religious, cultural or occupational group prompt a crisis of meaning. This may lead to a search for new sources — in drugs, in returning to their roots, in commitment to a religious cult, in suicide, in social involvement or in new forms of integration. For most people, meaning in life has to be sought rather than assumed.

These pressures are in the process of defining the future that is emerging from 1984.

TRANSITIONS AND VISIONS

Taken together, these six pressures and trends are causing a profound transformation in our society, not unlike the transformation that occurred when Western Europe shifted from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. Unlike that period of transition, ours is taking place within the lifespan of a single generation and it is the subject of a great deal of conscious analysis.

The pressures are shaping our social transition in different ways. The knowledge transformation and the communications revolution are opening up for us prospects and possibilities that stretch our imagination to understand and challenge our ingenuity to be wise stewards of our future. The pressures of economic turbulence and shifting power structures are forcing us to rethink our traditional assumptions and practices, confronting us with the need for fundamental change and making us look for new solutions to problems. The pressures of the work-education-leisure integration and the search for meaning are inspiring us to move beyond matters of management, technique and procedure to deeper issues of goals, values and new definitions of the quality of life and living.

But as we know from the past, periods of transition are easier for historians to describe than for participants to experience. They are unsettling, disturbing, stimulating and threatening. Like our individual life stages, societies in transition tend to go through the stages of denial (it is a passing fad), doubt (we don't know what's going on any more), anxiety (things are going from bad to worse), return to the basics (go back to the tried-and-true methods of the past), breakdown (we are in a crisis) and, it is to be hoped, breakthrough (we have a new way of seeing and acting).

In a period of transition we are, of course, much clearer about what we are moving from than about what we are moving toward. Our analysis of roots in the past is much more complete than our vision of branches of the future. The pressures, nevertheless, suggest three broad images of the future which are beginning to emerge in the 1980s.

The first image is that of the *Information Society*, shaped by the dominant pressures of the transformation of knowledge and the communications revolution. This pattern is based on high technology, change and communications as the distinguishing features. It is a society of increasing artificiality, as more of our activities and relationships are mediated by electronic networks; it is a society of increasing leisure, voluntary and involuntary, as technology replaces much of human work. This is primarily an economic model; and knowledge industries — the development, manipulation, control and dissemination of knowledge — are at the center of the economy and the social system.

There is a second, more ominous image of the *Authoritarian State* which would arise if we fail to resolve the dilemmas posed by the pressures of economic turbulence and the shifts of power. Scarcities in goods, food and jobs lead to sharper competition, recurring confrontations among different power groups, increasing conflict and an imposition of social control. This is the revised vision of 1984, with electronic surveillance, control by interlocking bureaucracies and loss of privacy, as much of our activity becomes dependent on electronic communication and a new feudalism of technolords who control the data bases and technoserfs who play the arcade video games.

Other trends—arising from the pressures of the convergence of work, education, leisure and the search for meaning — suggest the image of an *Ecological Community* in which computer networks dramatically increase access to learning and improve our ability to participate in society. Appropriate technology and voluntary simplicity are key elements of a lifestyle that is more humane, personal, free and enriching in human terms.

The themes of the year 2000 are being written in the 1980s, taking form in the ways in which we respond to the pressures we face, the possibilities we envision and the action we have the will to take. Whether the chip, the bug or the person is to be the dominant metaphor of our society is not just a matter of trends but also a matter of choices.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT

For those of us concerned with human learning and development, there are important implications to be drawn from a reflection on these problems and trends:

☐ The transformation of knowledge and the communications revolution, the pressures shaping a post-industrial information society, prompt us to reconsider what we mean by general education and "the basics," as well as the media and methods by which learning may be promoted in our society.

☐ Economic turbulence and shifts in power, the roots of an authoritarian state, challenge us to think of ways of ensuring 1) that our institutions and services are open to all persons regardless of social group or age and 2) that policies for education may be developed on the basis of widespread participation by clients.

☐ The blend of work, education and leisure, together with the search for meaning and purpose, invite us to consider the possibilities of an ecologically oriented community, based on care for the quality of our learning and living and on a sense of "wholeness" or integrity.

As educators confront the pressure of the explosion of knowledge and new approaches to the understanding of our world, we must rethink the basic design of curriculum from early childhood to adult education. We are in the midst of a learning society where the selection of what must be learned is as difficult as it is crucial. What information, what intellectual and social skills, what values and attitudes are so fundamental for our survival as individuals and communities that educators must ensure that all citizens learn them? It may not be realistic to seek consensus on this question, but we must have consensus that the question is important.

The communications revolution poses a challenge to our understanding of the processes of education: how we can most effectively teach, how we can communicate, how we can learn, how we can best foster learning in others. It has, alas, become a cliché to advocate "learning how to learn"; but the range and power offered by satellites, VCRs, microcomputers and information networks have scarcely begun to be realized. And as the technology advances to the ever smaller, ever cheaper, ever faster and ever more powerful, as we become used to the notions of artificial intelligence and even artificial reality, we must keep asking: What is the role of the person — the individual teacher and the individual learner — in this environment of chips, micros, lasers and modems?

Our age of turbulence, uncertainty, change and ambiguity is likely to be with us for some time; many of us will change our career patterns and lifestyles not once but five or six times. We will need to adapt continually to changing circumstances and also know the limits beyond which we cannot or should not flow with the times. In such a period, it is naive to expect any system of public schooling, directed to those between 6 and 18, to prepare a new generation "for life." While many of us are able to continue our own education throughout our lives, relying on our personal study, our associates and our own initiative to grow and develop, others of us need the support of structures and services. For this reason we must think of a general policy of lifelong or continuing education, allocating learning resources fairly to all sectors and age groups of the society. Within this general structure of lifelong learning services, the present education system of elementary and secondary schools is just one part, and perhaps one of declining importance.

We are already feeling the effect of special interest groups on the development of educational policy. If we are going to avoid continuing conflict among these groups and the erosion of the public education system in the face of social fragmentation, we must find new areas of common understanding and new mechanisms of mediation. If education is to fulfill its liberating goal, it must encourage widespread participation in the formulation and implementation of educational policies and it must help these participants make their contribution more effective. The role of educational leaders and experts is not to define goals and mystify others with critical paths, esoteric terminology and budget wizardry but 1) to provoke clients to identify their needs and articulate their goals; 2) assist them in developing and implementing programs to meet these goals; and 3) aid them in evaluating the quality of their learning.

The interrelationships of work, education and leisure in our society make the issue of the quality of education identical with the quality of work and the quality of life. Excellence in one depends on excellence in the others, as we now find ourselves, in Marshall McLuhan's expression, "learning a living." The traditional barriers separating schools from workplaces and recreation centers need to be removed, and we must rethink the assumption that young people need to be separated from other age groups. As schools connect with homes for senior citizens and industrial training programs in their communities, they will become the work-study-play resource centers for all the citizens of their community.

At the heart of any education program is the search for meaning, for a perspective, for an image of the future. Some approaches to education provide this in terms of a specific religious or political or cultural tradition — in our beliefs, our laws or our roots. All systems of education, however, need to present learners with important questions, with the issues that make them think about who they are, what kind of world they live in, what sort of society they wish to have and what their destiny may be. In our period of partial views, immediate pressures and superficial encounters, the school must not be open to the charge of providing the relentless pursuit of the trivial. Learning must be wholesome or it is unhealthful.

These pressures and alternatives and their educational implications invite us not merely to teach children but also to learn from them. A child sees things as a whole and a child sees them with the eyes of wonder. Most religious traditions try to keep alive in us the wholesomeness and sense of wonder of our childhood. If the occupational hazard of teaching is becoming childish, its mission is to become childlike. In this sense, "childhood education" is education *for* childhood as well as *of* childhood.

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RESEARCH

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The past two decades have provided early childhood educators with new insights, information and additional questions regarding the care and education of young children. This article provides a review of the past decade and suggests issues that should be addressed in the decade of the '80s. Consensus-seeking on these issues should be of interest to all persons concerned with young children.—N.L.Q.

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: ISSUES FOR A NEW DECADE

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AS RESULTS are evaluated from the International Year of the Child and the White House Conferences on Families, it is an opportune time for child and family advocates to select priorities for the next decade. In the past, we have responded to fast-paced technological and demographic changes by adopting a reactive stance: answering demands and pressures as they have arisen, often disagreeing with one another over goals and strategies. Now child and family advocates must adopt a proactive stance: as a united group, we must initiate and support policies and programs we know to be important for quality survival of young children and their families.

The first step in a proactive stance is to predict and define issues that must be addressed in the next decade. Only then can child and family advocates carry on a dialogue about points of consensus and differences. Selection of critical issues should begin by reviewing the history and current knowledge about early intervention, searching for trends, consistencies and gaps in practice.

An Historical Perspective

An examination of early childhood history reveals several important and recurring trends, including the following:

☐ The position of American society has been that early childhood education may not be appropriate for all children and families, but only for those with special economic, social, educational or moral needs (Greenblatt, 1977). Because this perception may be linked in subtle ways to our commitment to the family (specifically mother) as the most or only desirable caregiving system, a corollary has been that only when the family unit obviously cannot perform its caregiving duties is it appropriate for outside institutions to intervene. While universal access to quality child care continues to be discussed, legislative and policy efforts (e.g., Child and Family Services Bills of the 1970s) to implement such access remain unfulfilled.

☐ As Takanishi (1977) illustrated, early childhood education often was tied to efforts of social reform. There was an increase in both programs and funding when to do so met an economic need, such as providing employment (e.g., WPA day care and Lanham Act nurseries), or a social need, such as upgrading school-related skills and providing expanded access to institutions (e.g., Head Start and its off-shoot programs). Stressing of early intervention for its own sake has not been a strong motivator for public or private support of efforts.

☐ Unlike the industrial and public school modes of clearly separating work, family and child care (Hobbs, 1978), some early education programs have made efforts to involve families with their children's caregiving experiences. Examples include the late 1800s settlement house nurseries, where immigrant mothers received skill training while their children were at preschool (Steinfels, 1973), as well as the more recent inclusion of Head Start families in policy planning, classroom volunteering and parent training (O'Keefe, 1979).

☐ Diverse early education efforts have shared a common hypothesis as the basis for their planning; specifically, that the programs were being designed for young children (and families) who were exposed to early experiential limitations, culturally different socializing processes and discriminatory societal practices (Passow, 1974). Consequently, these children brought to early education programs lower levels of cognitive, linguistic, social and self-concept functioning than did young children who have not experienced these early "depriving" experiences. Raising these levels of development became a primary goal of many preschool programs.

☐ While sharing a common hypothesis and goal, early education programs have differed widely in philosophies of child development, curriculum materials, teaching prescriptions, role definitions and learning environments. Such divergent programs can be labeled "models," or a set of curricular and role prescriptions based on a position of child development (Verzaro, 1975). Models can be grouped into four categories (Mayers, 1971):

Child-Development models have as their goals self-actualization of children's inherent potential through provision of a wide range of experiences from which children have opportunity to make choices (e.g., British Infant School).

Verbal-Cognitive models are organized to facilitate broad cognitive growth with emphasis on development structures for logical thought (e.g., Cognitively Oriented Curriculum).

Sensory-Cognitive models emphasize child-environment interaction as a vehicle for increased sensorimotor competence (e.g., Montessori).

Verbal-Didactic models utilize behavioral objectives which are met by a series of systematic teacher presentations, linked with specific, reinforced child responses (e.g., Engelmann-Becker).

Historically, model usage has been cast in the perspective of a search for the "best" model, accompanied by spirited defenses for each of the model categories.

☐ Sponsorship of early childhood programs has ranged from center-based, total day care for children from birth through preschool, to homebased care for children from birth through preschool, to periodic one-half-day experiences for preschoolers, to public school-sponsored kindergartens, to church-related experiences. No one sponsorship or setting has been accepted as best by all familes.

What Have We Accomplished?

These trends, while important in defining the issues, must be matched with what we now know about the effects of past early intervention efforts.

☐ *One area of concern* should be the short-term impact that intervention has had upon the lives of children and families. The results of early evaluations (e.g., Cicirelli et al., 1969) were varied. Often focusing on children's cognitive skill gains (e.g., IQ scores), such studies demonstrated either no significant gains in scores, or gains that diminished as children moved through public school experiences. Further, while some studies (e.g., Bissell, 1973) found that children in more structured models made the greatest score improvements, other research (e.g., Weikart, 1969) found that children in different models demonstrated similar score gains.

More recent studies have portrayed a picture of more complexity. For example, Bronfenbrenner (1974), in reviewing eight varied intervention programs, found that initial IQ gains were later maintained by children in programs that emphasized the importance of patterns of reciprocal and contingent interactions between mother and child, from infancy onward. The importance of parents as a primary component of successful early intervention also was noted in the Goodson and Hess (1978) review of 25 parent training programs. The authors found that these programs provided children with both immediate and long-term advantages, as measured in IQ score gains. Results from achievement tests, grades and grade placement consistently favored program children, as did teacher ratings of social adjustment. Changes emerged in maternal teaching styles, in mothers' attitudes toward their children and in some aspects of home environments. The durability of these changes remains unmeasured. Preliminary evaluations of Project Home Start and the Parent Child Centers (Hertz, 1977), programs that also stressed the mother as primary teacher, indicated that program participants scored higher on school readiness measures than did nonparticipants, although long-term impacts remained unmeasured.

☐ *A second important area* in the recent research is specification of those variables upon which early intervention may have long-term impact. The Lazer et al. (1977) National Collaborative Study, which followed up on progress of participants in 14 early intervention programs and their controls, found no long-term IQ gains. But it did find a smaller percentage of program children in special education placements in four programs and less likelihood of their retention in grade. Further, by age 15 program children were significantly more likely to evaluate their school performance as positive. Also, parents of children in all programs reported positive feelings about their children's early childhood participation and identified their own program participation as an attractive feature of the early efforts. These data suggested that there are long-term impacts of early intervention in areas previously not considered by early educators.

Other recent data provided information on the long-term effects of early intervention on children of low income families. The ETS-Head Start Longitudinal Study (Shipman, 1976), which followed children's progress from age 3½ through the 3rd grade, found that (unlike our earlier deprivation hypothesis) low SES children were *not* a homogenous group with regard to abilities, family resources and school experiences. Children who experienced a mutual and collaborative family and school support system were more likely to demonstrate cognitive gains on tests. Further, the data supported the notion that all aspects of child development are so intertwined that only a comprehensive program of services can compete with the adverse effects of poverty.

☐ *The third area* to emerge in the research is the impact on children's behavior of very early and comprehensive nonparental caregiving, such as infant/toddler center-based and home-based day care. Most studies have indicated that early participation in day care may not be harmful for young children, provided the program is of high quality (Hertz, 1977). Kagan (1977) has listed the following as necessary components for quality care: regularity and variety of experience, opportunities to produce surprises, and practice of newly acquired skills. In addition, the National Day Care Study results (*Appropriateness of Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements*, 1978) have suggested that, while adult to children ratios were only minimally related to positive caregiver and child behaviors (except for infants), group size affected these same behaviors across all preschool age groups. Further, specialization in child development was the one training variable significantly associated with quality caregiving. Short-term IQ gains occurred only with children from low-income, low-education families, most often in highly structured, cognitively focused programs (Ricciuti, 1976). Results from a small number of studies have produced some concern about the influence of early (i.e., infant) peer contacts on subsequent interactions with adults and peers (Schwarz et al., 1974) and about the influence of large, rigidly structured settings on later preschool dependency (Meyer, 1977).

☐ Recent studies of the differential effects of program models on young children's development have provided important information on *a fourth area of concern*. The results of the largest such study, Project Follow Through — Planned Variation (Abt Associates, Inc., 1977), found that most models did not provide better education than did regular classrooms. Models that did produce significantly positive effects were those which emphasized mechanics of basic skills rather than broad academic goals. The study addressed the issue of model consistency across geographical sites by suggesting that no one model was robust enough to be implemented in an identical manner across sites.

While results of this study initially presented a discouraging picture for model usage, the study itself has been seriously questioned. Areas criticized have included the choice of statistics and unit of analysis, as well as the focus on a narrow range of program goals (House and Hutchins, 1979). Other problems noted were failure to utilize within-model evaluations available from various sponsors and inattention to such outcome measures as the models' impact on school systems, universities, parent involvement, teacher education and reduction of poverty (Hodges and Sheehan, 1978).

Smaller studies of model comparability presented a somewhat different picture than did the Abt study. Comparing four models, Miller and Dyer (1975) noted that each had its strengths and weaknesses; for example, pre-academic models produced immediate gains on academic measures, but may have oversimplified the educational process while using potentially tedious techniques. Stallings (1975) found that each model produced children with varied learning patterns and that classroom behaviors of both teachers and children varied markedly across models.

Issues for the 1980s and '90s

Using historical patterns and the current state of the art in early childhood, several issues emerge as clear foci for consensus-seeking:

☐ *What are the long- and short-term effects of early intervention on the lives of young children and their families?* For example, while we know that home-based programs indeed have strong potential for changing child behaviors, it appears that center-based programs may also be powerful, especially for low SES infants (Ramey et al., 1979). Also, since we have no comparative longitudinal studies on children who have spent the bulk of their early years either in or out of home caregiving, we cannot speak authoritatively about the multiplicity of effects of such experiences. Gaining such knowledge must be a priority. Without such information, we cannot approach policy-makers, program-funders and the lay public to seek support for early intervention. This issue should be one upon which child and family advocates could agree.

☐ *Is early intervention necessary for the healthy development of young children reared in less than optimal conditions?* Our humanitarian instincts, as well as our successes in early intervention, suggest that the answer is *yes*. Yet the work of Kagan (1978) in Guatemala, as well as the recent emphasis on life span development, should caution us to re-think this complex issue. For example, perhaps human development is discontinuous, and any deleterious impact of negative early experiences can be offset by the high quality of later experiences. We need to study this possibility and, if necessary, re-orient our goals and justifications for early intervention.

☐ *What are the most appropriate roles for parents and for staff to play in early education efforts?* As clearly noted by Zimiles (1978), the expansion of programs has meant a concomitant increase in the number of roles played by early educators (family counselor, nutritionist and social services referrer, for example). At the same time, emphasis has shifted to parents as primary educators of their young children. While involvement of parents appears to have positive impact on their children's development, it is now necessary for us to examine our motivations in adopting this approach to early childhood. Are we, as Schlossman (1978) suggested, shifting the burden of accountability for failure from ourselves to the parent? Are we setting up a "blaming the victim" (Ryan, 1971) situation? Are we part of what Lasch (1977) identified as the professionalized helping services, whose strategies undermine the self-sufficiency of the family? Have our programs, which stress help to individual families, prevented emergence of the institutional reorganizations identified by Keniston (1977) as necessary for the thriving of family units? We need to utilize research that points to the progressive isolation of the family in its child-rearing role (e.g., *Toward a National Policy for Children and Families*, 1976) to decide in what multiple ways program designs can contribute to support of the diverse family forms in which children live.

☐ *How are the varied early childhood models to be used?* Perhaps Krantz (1974) was correct when he said that we have been asking the wrong question. Instead of asking, "Which model is best?" we should be asking, "Which model is best, for whom, under what circumstances?" The latter question assumes that matches can be made between child and teacher, between child and model, and between teacher and model. If such matches can be made, it could result in a new curricular design called Multiple Model Programming (Verzaro-Lawrence and Krantz, 1976), which systematically pairs teachers, children and models on relevant variables such as learning style, personality configurations and child development philosophy. Since model usage may have great potential, we need to focus our efforts on the feasibility for implementation of multiple model programming through sophisticated use of the matching process.

☐ *Can present research techniques provide us with relevant important data, or do we need new research modes?* Two promising approaches may be Bronfenbrenner's (1977) proposed ecology of human development and Cochran and Brassard's (1979) concept of personal social networks. Both approaches are grounded in systems theory and recognize the multiplicity of forces interacting and impinging upon the lives of young children and their families. This perspective would allow us to expand the types of situations we can investigate and the dimensions we can study.

☐ *Where do young children with exceptionalities "fit" in our early education programming? Or, to approach the issue differently, how do we modify our efforts to accommodate the diversity of all children's needs?* For example, it appears that the use of peer reinforcement can be more effective than adult reinforcement in the development of handicapped children's appropriate classroom behavior (Karnes and Lee, 1979). This suggests that "mainstreaming" efforts must be preceded by process and content.

☐ *Who are the "appropriate" sponsors for early childhood education?* This issue contains two points of reference. One is the proprietary vs. nonprofit sponsorship debate, which revolves around the question of whether a service that must show a profit can at the same time offer quality care for children (Cochran, 1979). The other point of reference is the role of the public school in the sponsorship of early education; specifically, the insistence by some interest groups of teachers (American Federation of Teachers Task Force on Educational Issues, 1977) that all monies for preschool programming be funded through public school systems. Proponents of a mixed sponsorship system point to the loss of diversity in curriculum and in staff backgrounds, which could result when only one bureaucracy oversees programming (Fishaut and Pastor, 1977). The sponsorship issue, with its complexities and rigidities of position, had been the most difficult one thus far for child and family advocates to reach any points of consensus. It may be that our efforts must continue to be focused on finding small areas of agreement.

☐ *Should efforts be committed to the development of a coherent national policy on children and families?* We know, for example, that the U.S. lags behind five countries in its policies for child care for children under 3 (Kamerman and Kahn, 1978).* Yet while countries such as Sweden have demonstrated greater advances in a child care delivery system, the U.S. leads in models for parent involvement (Jaffe, 1979). Such an articulation requires acknowledgment and discussion of the moral and religious issues involved. It also requires a knowledge of relevant population trends to determine if child and family supports will be important in the next decades. Recent data (Moore and Hofferth, 1979) demonstrated that women are entering the work force at the rate of one million per year, a fact that will have a profound effect on the need for and regulation of day care (Smith, 1979). The future demand for center-based care may be especially strong (Hofferth, 1979).

If such pressures are to result in increased national support of child and family programs, early educators must define a position on the use of public monies for child care. Should the federal government financially support the apparently growing need for child care? If so, should proprietary and public school centers receive the same consideration for funding as do nonprofit and public centers? Which of the available options for federal funding should be expanded: Title XX, Head Start, ESEA Title I, food services, AFDC, child care tax credits, categorical aid to all programs, before- and after-school care (Congressional Budget Office, 1978)? Are the proposed new federal regulations for day care appropriate to the perceived need? Are they future-oriented, hence acceptable for later years ("Proposed Day Care Standards," 1979)? Should the industry-related sectors of business and labor be encouraged to revise their personnel policies and employee benefits to be more supportive of family child care needs (Verzaro et al., 1980)?

Obviously, the number and scope of the issues are complex and overwhelming. However, if the prediction comes to pass that 10.4 million children under 6 with working mothers will need care by 1990 (Hofferth, 1979), child and family advocates have a responsibility to begin now to address all the issues that will have an impact on early childhood education. Meetings, journals, newsletters, staff development sessions and informal discussions should serve as forums for this effort.

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* *Editor's note:* For a brief report of the Kamerman/Kahn study, see Lucy Prete Martin, "Over the Editor's Desk," CHILDHOOD EDUCATION (Oct. 1979): 63-64. See also Annie L. Butler, *Child's Right to Quality Day Care* (ACEI Position Paper, 1970).

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Frontiers of Challenge

Association for Childhood Education International 1985

Sue C. Wortham

In 1992 the Association for Childhood Education International will celebrate its 100th anniversary. With 30 kindergarten educators ("kindergartners") as charter members, the group was organized in 1892 as the International Kindergarten Union at a National Education Association meeting in Saratoga Springs, New York. Leaders of the new organization lost no time in proposing that "Its mission is to collect, collate and disseminate the valuable knowledge already attained, and to inspire to greater and more intelligent efforts in the future . . ." (Smith, 1967, p. 84). Now, nine decades later, educators are encountering challenges that are as urgent as those facing its first members. The manner in which ACEI addresses a frontier of new issues and opportunities evolves from its past history and depends upon the goals set for the future.

The Legacy of the Past

Prior to the Civil War, education for children was not a priority in the United States. Although Harvard University was planned before the Revolution, and was quickly followed by other institutions of higher education, public schooling for children was not essential to early settlers. Children were taught in homes in "Dame Schools" or attended New England district schools that were restricted to two or three months a year. During the 1820s Horace Mann headed the pressure for free public education, but at first all schools were supported by tuitions and philanthropy (Snyder, 1972). Attention to the education of children was forced by the conditions of the Industrial Revolution. The plight of poor children living in tenements and exploited in cheap factory work aroused the American conscience; nevertheless, education of the underprivileged was looked upon as a philanthropic effort, not as a public concern.

In the decade prior to the Civil War, efforts for young children's education moved forward when Mrs. Carl Schurz opened the first German kindergarten based on Friedrich Froebel's methods in her home in Watertown, Wisconsin. Elizabeth Peabody, who later met and was impressed by 5-year-old Agathe Schurz, initiated the kindergarten movement in the Boston area. As others saw the benefits that could result from schools for poor young children, kindergartens were established in various locations in the United States. Pioneers in the movement, including Kate Wiggin on the West Coast and Susan Blow in St. Louis, not only taught kindergartens but also established training schools for kindergarten teachers. According to Ira Smith (1967), "Many of them were women who had left the shelter and security of their homes, the company of cultured parents and friends, to enter with idealism into the advancement of Froebel's philosophy and methods on this side of the ocean" (p. 82). Lucy Wheelock reported that Elizabeth Peabody frequently wore her nightgown under her street dress and carried a toothbrush in her pocket as she traveled to engagements to promote the kindergarten movement (Snyder, 1972).

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Some former Presidents of IKU and ACE gathered for 1936 photograph at ACE Conference in New York City. Front row, l. to r.: Caroline Barbour 1927-29. Edna Dean Baker 1933-35. Lucy Wheelock 1894-99. Stella Louise Wood 1917-18. Patty Smith Hill 1908-09. Back row: Julia Wade Abbott 1931-33. Alice Temple 1925-27. Margaret Holmes 1929-31. Catherine Watkins 1915-17. Ella Ruth Boyce 1923-25.

The pioneers of the kindergarten movement were among those who first took action in the formation of the International Kindergarten Union. To acquaint the public with kindergartens and promote their acceptance in education, kindergarten exhibits were presented at the Chicago World's Fair followed by similar exhibits at expositions held in other parts of the country (Weber, 1969). Between the 1890s and World War I, the IKU began to grow and spread its influence, promoting as one of its most important goals acceptance of the kindergarten as part of the public school system. During the same period, educators disagreed on the purpose of public schooling and the role of elementary education within that purpose. Horace Mann and William T. Harris proposed that children and youth should be taught the values of their American culture through a common curriculum. Conversely, Charles W. Elliott believed that the United States was to become a society of experts and that schools, even at the elementary level, should differentiate instruction for the probable destinies of the students (Burgess, 1984).

Kindergartners were engaged in an ideological conflict of their own. The child study movement had initiated research in child development. Scientific information was being collected on how children grow, develop and learn. When G. Stanley Hall tried to bring his research to 35 leading kindergartners in 1895, all but Anna Bryan and Patty Smith Hill left in protest against criticism of Froebelian methods. The IKU became involved in the controversy at annual meetings as participants clapped and waved their handkerchiefs in support of the conservative or liberal view. Those loyal to Froebel argued for the benefits that kindergartens had brought to poor children, while supporters of the child study movement advocated that emerging knowledge about child development mandated a new approach to kindergarten methods (Smith, 1967). In 1903 the IKU appointed a Committee of Nineteen to study and report on the differences. Although the final report was not issued until 1913, the discussions continued at annual meetings. Eventually both sides of the controversy used research from the child study movement to improve kindergarten programs (Weber, 1969).

With the advent of World War I, there was a change of focus within the organization to the wartime effort. The Committee of Nineteen organized the work of kindergartners in connection with children in the war zone. A Kindergarten Unit and supplies were taken to France. In the United States work focused on protecting the interest of the nation's children during the war and facilitating conservation efforts. Following the end of the war, the Kindergarten Unit and assistance to refugee children continued (Snyder, 1972).

With the rising popularity of John Dewey's Progressive Education Movement, schools in the United States between 1900 and 1925 employed less rigid teaching methods. Creativity and individual expression in problem-solving were stressed as children produced poems, stories and scientific experiments. As the size and symbolism of Froebelian gifts became unacceptable, experimentation with new materials began. Alice Temple recommended larger building blocks, dolls, playhouses, workbenches and tools. Nature study, home and community life, literature, music and art were all studied. Children engaged in projects that reconstructed home and community life (Weber, 1969).

In 1924 the journal *Childhood Education* was launched by IKU. Journal content during the first years, as today, reflected concerns of the profession. The March 1927 edition described the lucky teacher as follows:

> School teachers' salaries range from $30 a month up; but not far enough to make them dizzy. On her salary the teacher must dress nicely, buy helpful books on pedagogy, pay her way to district, county and state institutes, and enjoy herself during a three-month vacation which her salary takes every year. In addition, the teacher is supposed to horde away vast sums of money so that when she becomes too nervous and cross to teach, at the age of fifty or thereabouts, she can retire and live happily ever after on her income (p. 341).

The world entered a new crisis with the advent of the economic depression in the 1930s. The stock market crash in 1929 overshadowed the conflict between the Progressive Movement and the Testing Movement. Achievement tests were introduced into the schools and learning objectives became a part of educators' vocabularies.

Although the economic depression affected the amount of educational progress that could be made in improving educational programs, the dialogue between educators of divergent philosophies continued. While the IKU maintained an involvement in educational issues, it was also undergoing a period of expanding membership and interests. In 1931 the International Kindergarten Union merged with the National Council of Primary Education to form the Association for Childhood Education. The new organization was also interested in younger children. A Committee on Nursery Education was appointed, and journal editions reported information on various models of nursery schools (Snyder, 1972).

Research in child development contributed to the expansion of the nursery school movement. Parent education, research in curricula and methods, and teacher training not only affected nursery schools, but also had an impact on public school education. The acceptance of kindergarten into the primary school resulted in an interchange of influence. The kindergarten child's freedom to learn through play activities affected the rigid drill and mastery of skills that dominated primary grades. At the same time, kindergarten teachers developed an awareness of the relationship of kindergarten experiences to learning in the primary grades (Weber, 1969).

The 1940s were dominated by World War II and its aftermath. Information on child development continued to influence teaching and curriculum. Work units and interest centers replaced the projects of the 1930s. Emphasis was upon the education of the whole child; learning experiences were based on the developmental needs of a group of children originating from normative data (Weber, 1969). Because of restrictions on traveling during the war years, ACE suspended annual meetings. Instead, regional conferences with wartime themes were held. In 1944 a restricted annual conference held in Washington, D.C., included an evening at the White House with Eleanor Roosevelt (Bain, 1967).

The organization focused on improvement and service after World War II. It formulated a Plan of Action that mirrored the basic concerns of the time and provided scholarships for educators from various nations to study in the United States. In 1946 the word "International" was added to the association's name. Toys were supplied to children who had been displaced by the fighting, and educational materials were sent to Germany and information centers in Eastern European countries (Bain, 1967).

The 1950s and 1960s are now fondly regarded as the peak period of interest in childhood. A time of growth and prosperity evolved as nations around the world preoccupied themselves with the resumption of peacetime living. A new wave of studies and publications on infant and childhood development by researchers such as Jean Piaget, J. McVicker Hunt, Jerome Bruner and Benjamin Bloom emphasized the importance of the early years for later successful learning in school (Weber, 1969).

The national interest in reducing poverty and inequalities in work and schooling during the 1960s capitalized on the new information about childhood and learning that was continuing to be researched and reported. Projects Head Start and Follow Through focused on new trends in psychology, educational methodology and social issues. Models were developed to better prepare poor and minority preschool children for the elementary school years.

ACEI also engaged in a period of prosperity and expansion. Publications experienced growth and improvement that paralleled the growth in membership. A new headquarters building was constructed and the mortgage paid off by 1966. The organization also became actively involved in new federal programs, especially the Head Start Movement (Bain, 1967).

During the late 1960s and 1970s, public schools made widespread use of curricular innovations. Bilingual education, individualized instruction, team teaching and the open classroom were among the responses to pressures for curriculum improvement and equal opportunities for education. Many of the innovations were federally funded, frequently with funds targeted for specific populations of students who were at risk for academic achievement.

As the current decade of the 1980s commenced, much of the enthusiasm for the educational innovations of the 1960s and 1970s had faded. Despite the infusion of money and federally supported programs into public education, improved educational achievement was not considered by many to be significant. A worldwide recession affected the availability of resources for children in both social services and public education. A changing economy and society have forced us to reassess how to meet the needs of children and their families as they face new problems and concerns.

Issues of Today

The child growing up today develops within a different set of circumstances than the child's counterpart of the 1950s. Many children and their parents are in stress because of the various factors that affect their lives. Family structures are changing. As divorce becomes more common, children are living with stepparents and blended families, or with a single parent.

As a result of deteriorating economic conditions, interest in a higher standard of living, and burgeoning career opportunities for women, over half of the mothers of preschool and school-age children are working outside the home. Infants, toddlers and preschool children are being cared for by relatives, in family day care homes or at child care centers. There is concern about the quality of care young children are receiving while their parents work. Older siblings have become latchkey children as they remain alone in the home after school until a parent returns from work. These children are often responsible for caring for younger brothers and sisters and for performing household chores.

Families are also in stress as a result of pressures of contemporary living. Economic conditions are unfavorable in many areas, causing spreading unemployment. Teenage suicide is on the rise, as are child abuse and neglect. The age at which young people become sexually active has lowered, with a consequent increase in preteen and teenage pregnancies. More of these children are keeping their babies under stressful conditions. With the realities of an unmarried adolescent trying to raise a child with limited education and resources, a new generation of children at risk for development is a high probability.

Drugs and alcohol are also social issues. Drug and alcohol abuse is a worldwide problem that has lasting effects on families who experience the impact of living with a parent or child who is controlled by a substance.

Childhood is at risk. Psychologists observe that children are being rushed into adulthood by parents, schools and society. Television and other media encourage children to dress as adults, while they expose them to adult sex, violence and other social problems. Precocious achievement in academic learning, playing an instrument or participating in organized sports are seen as indicators of success in parenting and teaching. Children are often expected to carry out adult responsibilities and share in adult problems. The pace of contemporary life is minimizing the opportunities for children to experience childhood. Neil Postman, author of "The Disappearance of Childhood" (1985), proposes that a new media environment will result in the disappearance of childhood by the end of this century.

Public education is in a new period of re-evaluation and reform. In 1983 the National Commission on Excellence in Education issued its report titled "A Nation at Risk," which concluded that public education is headed for mediocrity. The study and report resulted from a developing concern about declining SAT scores and other evidence that graduates of secondary schools are not receiving an adequate education (Goldberg, 1984).

The cry for educational reform has included pressures to revise programs for teacher training, raise academic standards at all levels of education, and implement accountability for what is taught and learned. Calls for curriculum reform stress the need for more instruction in basic skills with a diminution of electives or courses described as "frills" (Buffie, 1984). The movement for change in education comes at a time of economic austerity; therefore, state and local school systems seek to effect instructional improvement within a condition of declining financial support.

ACEI is also in a period of re-evaluation in a time of declining resources. In 1984 growing financial problems were resolved with the sale of the headquarters building in Washington, D.C. While established in temporary quarters, the organization is assessing its role in the profession and future directions it will take as it prepares to celebrate its centennial year.

Challenges of the Future

How will ACEI meet the challenges of the future? We are no longer an organization of the United States, but part of a global community. The world is no longer a collection of nations organized by hemisphere or opposing ideologies. As a global community, we affect and are affected by the advances and conditions encountered by each separate nation. Our world is beset with wars, famine and regional struggles for power and control. At the same time, technological advances are revolutionalizing how we live, work and play. We are a global community with as many opportunities as problems. Change is rapid and pervasive. A key to the future is coping with change and using flexible problem-solving to improve the quality of life for children.

What service will ACEI provide for the world's children? What visions and plans of action will it design to contribute strong, vital leadership to the profession? Throughout its history, ACEI has been actively involved in helping to solve immediate and long-range problems. During World War I and World War II, the organization sent toys and educational materials to children affected by war. During the War on Poverty, the organization was active in the Head Start Movement. As we look to the future, how will we reach out to make a difference for children? Will we send educational materials to Central American countries where military confrontations have decimated the school systems? Is our mission in Africa where children are dying of starvation? How can we affect the quality of life for poor urban children in the United States and Canada? Can ACEI make a difference in the lives of unemployed families in declining industrial areas?

On what educational issues will we debate and wave our handkerchiefs? What visions do we have for the future education of children that will cause us to put our toothbrush in our pocket and travel the world to persuade others of our convictions?

We live in an era of merging frontiers. Will we accept the challenge and improve the quality of life and learning for children in the future, or will we dream fond memories of the past and expect others to carry out the tasks of providing a better childhood for the children of planet Earth? Let us hope we will follow the leadership of Mary Esther Leeper, first Executive Secretary of ACEI, who said, "There is no limit to the influence that our group can exert, to the service we can render, if we steadily meet our responsibilities and accept them as privileges" (Leeper and Leeper, 1985, p. 211).

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Ecological Balance

by Stewart L. Udall

The Honorable Stewart L. Udall, U. S. Department of Interior, Washington, D. C., in his second article for this journal (see "World's Bounty," CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, *April 1964), writes of the need to understand the role of humans in relation to their world.*

It has been often noted that the only thing that does not change is change. Until recently, the pace of change for most things was so slow that a human being with a lifespan of threescore years and ten was completely unaware of it. Today, however, the most noticeable thing about change is the dizzy speed at which it is taking place. The prospect is that change will continue to accelerate and that it will affect every facet of life, not the least of which is our value system in every one of its manifestations.

The world around us could conceivably be one of the casualties. It could happen because of human actions motivated by the pressures of overwhelming population and assisted by unbridled technology and taken without prior knowledge of the consequences. Such a thing could happen, even while mankind is desperately attempting to make the switch from "how much" to "how good" as a measuring rod for progress.

Man Can Alter Environment

The danger lies in man's seeming determination to overpopulate the earth, coupled with his technological ability to alter—oftentimes irreversibly—his environment. It is the irreversibility of some of the environmental mistakes we are making today that puts the outcome in jeopardy.

What we need is more knowledge, and to gain that knowledge we need time. Meanwhile, the machines march on, carrying us and the whole world toward some still undecipherable destination.

In acquainting the child today with the problems posed to his natural world by the nature of rapid change, it is well to begin by defining "environment" and then move on to definition of "ecology." These are the *two most important concepts in the new conservation.*

First we must make the child familiar with the world around him under the general title "environment." But as an introduction to the concept of ecology, it becomes necessary to define "environment" as distinct from mere "surroundings."

Environment is composed of all the things, conditions and forces to which living matter is sensitive and to which it is capable of reacting. This includes changes in the intensity and direction of stimuli. To phrase it for the child, if anything in the surroundings fails to stimulate any kind of response from living matter, then that thing is not a part of the "environment" of that living organism.

If I stumble over a rock in the dark, that rock is part of my environment. My sore toe tells me so. If I pass it in the dark and do not see it, then it is only part of my surroundings. If I go the same way in daylight and move to avoid stubbing my toe on the rock, the rock has elicited a response from me and thus is part of my environment.

The difference between environment and surroundings does not depend upon consciousness, however. Suppose the rock were strongly radioactive and I tarried near it in the dark, totally unconscious of its proximity but nevertheless suffering cellular damage from it. The rock and I are environmentally connected.

Cause and Effect Interrelationships

It follows that people are interconnected to each other and to other faraway elements of the world in myriad of ways, many of which we neither recognize nor understand. It is this web of cause and effect interrelationships that makes up the "ecosystem." The concept is not an easy one to digest, but it is upon the success of putting across this somewhat tough idea to children that the future of the new conservation hinges.

We must—and it seems, from all the signs, that we *can*—come to understand as a people our place in relation to our world. We have, in the new wave of conservation that is taking root all over the country, the beginnings of a new man-to-land ethic—one that harks back to George Perkins Marsh and his 1874 classic, *Man and Nature*. It took the clear, inner light of genius for Marsh to write in those days:

> *Man is everywhere a disturbing agent. Wherever he plants his foot, the harmonies of nature are turned to discords.*

It takes no such mystical mentality to acquiesce to this judgment today. It takes no solitary musing on the shores of Walden Pond to convince the ordinary city-dweller today that we are running out of "living room" and that what we have left we are treating very badly.

The ground for hammering out a new conservation ethic is well prepared. The trick is to keep the children aware of the mounting crisis—to alert them to the urgent need and the dwindling time for action—before the growing noise anesthetizes them, the exhaust fumes choke them, the nervous tensions and irritations from overcrowding drain them of all will.

The daily newspapers are full of stories that illustrate the ecological nature of today's conservation crisis in terms as modern as tomorrow.

Baby food is found to be hazardous to the health of infants because of the high content of nitrates deposited on the food in the form of chemical fertilizers by farmers who sought only to increase their yield.

The Cornwall Coast loses 100,000 sea birds from the oil pollution loosed by the Torrey Canyon disaster. And, months later, the detergents used to fight the oil have killed the limpets which usually feed off a certain coarse green seaweed—allowing the seaweed to thrive in ugly, ropy masses, reminiscent of a science fiction horror story.

These daily news items will be constant reinforcements of the ecological conservation lessons you teach in the homes and the classrooms. Irritations caused by bad modern conservation decisions will filter through more readily into the child's consciousness as just what they are—bad decisions to be altered or corrected.

Interaction Between Organism and Environment

A healthy, healing tendency is in every area of man's social organization to apply this synthesizing approach that is finally spelling out our troubles in conservation. We are approaching more problems every day with an eye to how our proposed solutions will affect areas outside the immediate target. A case that is very much to the point here is the conclusion reached by Sir Julian Huxley in a recent article entitled "The Crisis in Man's Destiny." Wrote Sir Julian:

"The first thing is to reform the curriculum so that, instead of separate 'subjects' to be 'taken' piece-meal, growing minds are offered a nutritious core of human knowledge, ideas, techniques and achievements, covering science and history as well as the arts and manual skills. The key subject must be ecology, both biological and human—the science of balanced interaction between organisms and their environment (which of course includes other organisms)—together with its practical application in the conservation of the world's resources, animal, vegetable and mineral, and human.

"Education must prepare growing human beings for the future, not only their own future but that of their children, their nation and their planet. For this, it must aim at varied excellence (including the training of professional elites) and at the fullest realization of human possibilities."

This recipe for educators puts the ecological approach into the whole spectrum of human learning.

Included with Mr. Huxley's adjuration is a set of questions recently posed to the International Horticulture Congress by Stanley A. Cain, Assistant Secretary for National Parks, Fish and Wildlife:

"Today's question is whether we are rich enough to afford conservation management and maintain an environment of quality. Rich enough in dollars? Rich enough in socio-economic and political knowledge? Rich enough in wisdom and the will to do what is needed doing? Devoted enough to the synthesizing sciences, such as ecology and economics and the humanities? Have we really discovered that there are no single resources, only resource complexes? Do we yet know that there are no independent and isolated socio-economic and political actions? Do we really appreciate that all things are linked by actions in the continuous web of the ecosystem?"

These questions will be decisively answered as early as tomorrow, by adults who are now children. Forces pressing for "yea" answers to these questions include the increasing effect on human health of environmental conditions, the acceleration of population growth, the nuclear explosion of bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Another force is the literary explosion of books like Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*,* which has stirred the consciousness of millions of Americans. Each of these phenomena is a dramatic lesson in ecology—in the chain reactions to be found in the physical environment. These linkages in the ecosystem can be either radioactive isotopes or pesticides that find their way into food and water. They can be gross overcrowding of human beings that leads to "behavioral sinks" akin to those noted in laboratory

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*Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1962).

experiments with rats.

The field of ecology extends from the intracellular to the intergalactic. To be secure, with a sure sense of self, a child must know not just what is real but how does *this* real thing relate to *other* things?

Pluralistic World

The most important goal of ecology in the curriculum, it seems to me, is for the child to stop looking at the world as a conglomeration of independent "things." The world is pluralistic, and we ignore this fact at great risk.

By examination we have found that the earth is characterized by systems of interacting phenomena—hydrosphere, lithosphere, atmosphere—and that even these systems are interpenetrable and interacting. We must learn to work with and within these systems, for this is the usefulness of ecology. We cannot all be ecologists but we and the world we live in stand to gain immeasurably if we all strive toward ecological thinking and attitudes.

Perhaps another illustration, similar to the rock and the stubbed toe, will illustrate on a wider scale what I mean and the implications for human destiny.

The kind of thinking I am proposing would reject the concept that famine is a *side* effect of public health programs to prolong life and inattention to food production. Ecological thinking would immediately peg famine as *the* effect.

The clear-headed ecological thinker viewing the tunnel-visioned attempts to improve health and put off natural deaths while food production is neglected would conclude: "The fact that some people are alive to face an existence of near-starvation is the side effect."

If enough of our people can develop the awareness and the tough mindedness to think in this radical new way, then—and perhaps only then— is there hope for the future.

Private Education

Robert L. Smith

"THE LAST THING one settles in writing a book is what should be put in first." Pascal, in writing these lines, was not thinking about the subject of children and public policy. Indeed, almost no one in his 17th century seriously thought that children and public policy belonged in the same sentence. Our subject is a relatively modern one, and Pascal's timeless observation is apposite as one carefully assesses the enormity of our topic. For what should be put in first in a brief up-to-date review of how children are now touched by public policies depends on how far into this murky, bewildering complex one thinks one can go without getting hopelessly lost.

The history of public policy is relatively brief. Parents were supposed to do the major affecting of children until the Great Depression changed things all around. At that point, President Roosevelt began to use government in a variety of ways to try to improve the general welfare and, with the eventual concurrence of the Supreme Court, succeeded. Well before that, Plato had a lot to say about the state's handling of the young and was put to death for his trouble.

In general, however, except for a sprinkling of advice through the centuries by Montaigne, Bacon, Rousseau and a few others, the general assumption was that Mother, Father and Schoolmaster knew best and the state knew least about what to do with children. The subject comes before us in its present form, not because of any radical change in our basic assumptions about the primary place of home and school in the lives of children, but because time has so changed the context in which we live that public policy does affect children in hundreds of ways, like it or not.

Despite the plethora of federal, state and local policies that now affect children, there is not nor has there ever been a conscious national policy toward them except one, that they should all attend school until a state-mandated age. And, further, there is an overwhelming sense among us, derived of instinct and nature and shared with the rest of the human family, that a child is our most precious possession. Nothing else in our lives brings more joy, agony, endless doubt compounded by knowledge and belief; nothing calls into play so directly our values, priorities and instincts. Although a child's very existence is a national preoccupation, the greatest danger to children today is that they will be increasingly considered within the context of problems instead of the reverse.

Ironically, the first systematic effort in the past half century to legislate a national program for children and families came on the heels of the election of an Administration pledged to "get government off the backs of the people." In fairness, *The Family Protection Act of 1981* is intended "to tackle the problems that surround governmental intervention in the lives of individuals and their families." What is instructive, in reading the five long provisions of the bill, is how difficult it is to draw the line between its effort to free the individual and family from government and its imposition of government (albeit through concepts of freedom and the ideals of a wholesome family life) on families and individuals. Indeed, we live in an extraordinarily rich society chock-full of conflicting values, many of which make valid claims on our intelligence. Lord Maitland noted that in issues

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involving deeply held, divergent values progress "is squeezed through the interstices of process." Those who expect quick progress are well advised to be patient.

Recommendations for Public Policy

So, what should government do about children from the perspective of private education? There are only a few things private education wants from government. On the other hand, to include all the things government should do for all children would make for a far longer, more inclusive list. For, in truth, the private school student is every student.

The following recommendations, therefore, will be a compromise, tilting toward brevity. They assume that, in matters involving children and the family, having no public policy is probably the ideal. But we live in a complex age; if those concerned with children are without a philosophy to guide general public policy efforts, they are abandoning the field and their children to those who make the loudest noises. Clearly, the underpinnings of all policy should be freedom, equity, excellence, human dignity and all the rights guaranteed under the Constitution.

Here then is a list that tries to keep the interests of the child foremost and makes the arm of government as long as necessary and as short as possible.

☐ Public policy should acknowledge that our having a broad, diverse system of schools is in the national interest. Education is best served, not by our having a single kind of school for everyone, but by having many kinds of schools for many kinds of students and families.

☐ Public policy should make it possible for all families, particularly the poor, to have the opportunity to secure that education for their children which most accords with their beliefs, priorities, needs and hopes. Tuition tax credits, vouchers and basic educational opportunity grants are three possible means of attaining this goal.

☐ Public policy should respect the operative freedom of private schools in all matters (including curriculum, staffing, textbooks and enrollment), except health and safety. Public policy should not attempt to specify subjects to be covered and results to be achieved in private schools. Although government has a legitimate interest in providing education for every child, society is safer and education's purposes better served by a policy of government restraint (as opposed to neglect) rather than government intrusion (cf. Yoder decision in Amish case).

If a private school chooses to flaunt constitutionally guaranteed human rights, it should have to pay dearly for that through loss of tax exempt status and other appropriate legal penalties.

☐ Public policy should fully recognize the degree to which private schools depend on annual gifts and legacies. It should maintain and extend policies that encourage giving by individuals, foundations and corporations.

☐ Public policy should continue to base private school participation in federal programs on the child benefit theory, through which assistance is given to the economically disadvantaged, handicapped, bilingual and other categories of eligible students who attend private schools. Private schools will, of course, continue to participate in other programs through the Block Grant at local levels.

In addition to these public policy recommendations involving schools, there follow several other suggestions which are directly concerned with what students learn. This is not to argue for a national curriculum. It is to suggest that fear of imposing a national curriculum should not foreclose informed recommendations about subject matter and experiences which should be part of every child's education.

☐ Public policy should provide opportunities and incentives for public service by high school students, including a year or two of national service between school and college. We are now educating a generation of career-dominated, self-enraptured students who need to broaden their perspectives, mature, review goals and experience the advantages which a period of nonacademic, public service activity (including military service) could provide.

☐ Public policy should focus attention on the ways television, particularly Cable TV, can fill what are now critical gaps in the education of most students. Among these are learning a common core of knowledge, including history and literature, and being introduced to the great minds of science, the humanities, art, law, government and other fields requiring disciplined, intellectual activity.

☐ Public policy should address the need to educate students to be technologically literate and well-informed about the humanistic questions raised by technology. Few students (or adults) understand most of today's technology. Consequently, the U.S. is becoming a nation divided ruinously into small numbers of technicians and everyone else — ruinous because even now most of the major public policy questions (in defense, energy, economics, research, government, administration, et al.) are well beyond our level of understanding in their sophistication and technical complexity.

☐ We need, in addition, to have public policies that encourage the teaching of international literacy. Knowledge of others through linguistic, literary, geographic and cultural studies should become a part of the central core of the school's curriculum if we are all to live as abundantly as possible on our shrinking planet.

The private sector of education is, by its nature, mostly independent and autonomous; therefore, I think it is entirely possible for many of the above recommendations to be pursued, regardless of public policy, within most private schools and school systems. But we live in an increasingly interdependent society. Thus it is in the national interest that as many students as possible learn all they need to know to live effectively, competently and reasonably happily in our world.

My final recommendation is, then, that public policy increasingly encourage the exploration of ways by which all children, regardless of their schools, can share in the learning and knowledge they need. The development of collaborative arrangements between public and private sectors of education must, therefore, be increased. A matter of both economics and pedagogy, of resource-utilization and educational enrichment, such collaboration seeks to expand everyone's opportunities for learning.

Summary

In summation, any public policy effort should always have as its ultimate purpose increasing children's knowledge as well as developing their values, honing their skills as well as strengthening the processes of maturity, teaching competence as well as encouraging wisdom. In short, it should be concerned equally with knowledge and being. And it should do all this while respecting the integrity and freedom of the processes of teaching and learning, the most intensely private of all major national undertakings.

Becoming Planetary Citizens: A Quest for Meaning

Chester M. Pierce, M.D.

WE HEAR MUCH TALK that today it is more difficult than in the past to be young—whether as a kindergartner or as a college student. It is also more difficult to be older, because the task of guiding young people to conduct a still unknown future is an awesome charge. We don't have the kind of time we once did. Theoretically, a person living in the age of Charlemagne could grow up believing that the life his own children would someday lead would be the same as his own, with little change. I doubt that anyone would think so today.

These circumstances make for many difficulties but for exciting challenges, too. When we consider that the most prodigious intellectual feat most of us ever accomplish occurs before age six, when we learn language—and with it many of the basic concepts, the acculturation that we are expected to live with from then on—we know we have something positive to work on.

What can you do in your day-to-day interactions with children to prepare them for the twenty-first century? The remarks that follow are from the viewpoint of one who deals mostly with people at the other end; that is, people as adults. Some of what I suggest may cause you dismay; some may even enrage you. All will be easier said than done.

NEW GOALS FOR PROFESSIONALS

I think the overall aims in a quest for meaning would be to help children grow up to be (1) super-generalists and (2) supra-nationalists. How to bring about these attitudinal changes you as professionals must decide. You will have to build them into all your guidance from infancy on. You yourselves will have to give greater credence to other people's ideas, to correlate and integrate ideas from various disciplines—across barriers that now separate you. The inevitable consequence will be that today's children will come to realize that in their own self-interest the only way they can live will be as planetary citizens.

Let me tell you a story of how I developed for myself a new definition of a professional. A couple of years ago I was working on a problem that required me to take a temporary assignment as an assistant coach of a college football team. One day the head coach, whom I had known for over a quarter of a century, asked me to watch one of the players. He suggested that we both watch the same man in the next play, and we did. At the end of the play, the coach chastised a player who was ten yards away from the one we were supposed to be watching. The coach then demonstrated

"What is probable?
What is possible?
What is desirable?"
Here are intriguing answers
from an adaptation
of the keynote address to the
ACEI Annual Study Conference
held at Denver, Colorado,
in April of 1972.

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what the former had done and then what he should have done. I was perplexed because it was all I could do to watch where I had been told to watch, and I couldn't even see all that had happened there. I asked the coach how he knew what that man had done who was ten yards away. His answer gave me the most refreshing insight I have acquired in years: "I saw where the boy was at the end and therefore I knew what had to have happened." I thought to myself, "That's the definition of a professional—that's a real pro—he looks at the end result and knows what had to have gone on to get there."

If you are truly professionals, with responsibility for helping children grow, then you will have to consider what the world might be like in the twenty-first century when most of us won't be here but the children with whom you are working every day will be. I suggest that you might try to inject the future more deliberately into your educational programs. You will never know the exact outcome of your predictions, but you do know that in our technological era much change can be achieved in less time than we normally anticipate.

What is probable? What is possible? What is desirable? Once we take some posture relative to these future-oriented questions, we can begin to think about how best to teach children so that civilization will be maximized and optimized.

Glimpses of Tomorrow

For example, a child who is in your nursery school today may very well live to have a three-day work week if he is in the United States, unless consumption patterns are radically altered. In all likelihood he will have vastly greater longevity and vitality as an adult than today's forty-year-old. He will live in a society that may exercise considerable control over the weather. You can be fairly sure he will have easy, cheap, virtually foolproof contraceptive methods—which could have a great deal to do with the kind of family and sexual attitudes he will have. Just as you use a telephone or television every day, he will use a computer. He will have a different quality of ailments. We know, for instance, that large masses of our population today are being afflicted by pollution; we don't yet know what the complications will be.

A FUTURE-ORIENTED CURRICULUM

Now, in terms of specific curricular changes, how can you help prepare children—and yourselves?

Demographic Studies

First of all, *it will be extremely important for children to become experts in demography*. A child will have to understand such things as density clusters and population migration. He may not use these exact words, but he should be provided experiences to build comprehension of the basic concepts. He needs to learn too of related problems we are facing now that may carry over into his adult life—such as pollution and increased consumption of raw materials, energy sources and protein by a minority of the world's population. Further, he must understand the tragic sequelae of continued racial segregation.

We already know a great deal about urban drift—that everywhere in the world people are concentrating in cities, so that by the year 2000 the children you are dealing with will be about 87 percent urban if they live in highly developed countries. In the less-developed countries the percentage will probably be about 43 percent. But though we know a number of today's children of all countries will grow up living in crowded conditions, we don't yet know much about the optimal density rates of human beings.

My own research has taken me to laboratories all over the world. I can tell you with a great deal of fidelity how much space one elephant needs per day or how many grains of sand have to be put down to make a Cambodian ant move at a given rate. We know how adding one more rat to a rat colony can change the whole dynamics of its social system. No one yet knows, however, the optimal amount of space for a human infant. Someday hopefully we *will* know.

Of the problems facing us in America that may make today's child find life more difficult beyond the horizon, perhaps the most difficult one demographically is racial segregation. Around 90 percent of black people today live in segregated housing. Already obvious is the fact that the growing concentration of blacks in urban areas will mean increased segregation within the next decade, since a higher percentage will be living in segregated housing.

You can look at a class of young children today and tell where most of them are going to live. Most will grow up living in cities. If they are black, live in the United States and remain here, two out of three of them will grow up to live in *eleven* cities. If they are white, you will know that most of them—even if in a class that is highly integrated—will have virtually little contact with others than whites in the important next fifteen formative years. But in the society of their maturity, *all* people may very well have to deal with all races, wherever one may be in the world.

Segregated societies create psychological xenophobia (fear of strangers). That is, any homogeneous group thinks that others may try to destroy it or take away its prerogatives or exert power over it. Xenophobia makes one group believe it alone has all the necessary and correct answers. A terrible problem may arise if some of the have-not parts of the world decide that they will no longer stand still and let one part of the world continue to use up most of man's resources.

In the meantime, many of you will work with children who are overcrowded. For overcrowding is one of the usual consequences of being poor—whether one is black, white, red, brown, yellow or whatever. Due to overcrowding, poor children probably experience chronic sleep deprivation and resultant changes in their biology. In the poor of the United States such biological changes may be more critical to human functioning than malnourishment.

Although someday children might be even more crowded than today, they will have more leisure time. It is technically feasible that people may relatively soon be able to live 100 years. Advances in biochemistry and in knowledge of body rhythms may permit people to stay awake in good functioning order for twenty-one out of every twenty-four hours. Scientists can probably learn to increase the oxygen supply to the brain so that people will think better. New drugs may be available for personality-control.

Beyond the horizon, children might very well have global-electronic forms of education; there may be many more parallel systems of learning-opportunities, including worldwide use of satellites. Such ideas are not just speculative; we already have geosynchronous satellites that can beam messages down. With devices like these come a lot of possibilities, including that of teaching the world a single, universal language.

These awesome "advances" mean that today's children will someday be living in an age when they will be much more regulated. A number of critical questions may thereby arise—such as who will control the regulating and the access to information.

Communications Theory

Another basic issue you will have to prepare yourselves for is to *teach children how to analyze propaganda.*

If you object that carrying out such a task is not your role or function, ask yourself: "Do I have as much right or interest to be concerned about what children think as does an executive on Madison Avenue or at CBS?" Propaganda involves persuading people to think something is in their own best interest. To do so is not necessarily bad—as when you persuade a child it is in his own best interest to brush his teeth. But you can also teach a child how to recognize the common vehicles of propaganda so that he does not necessarily believe everything he sees or hears. Very early in life a child needs to learn skills of communications-analysis, to be critical and sceptical so that he doesn't necessarily take everything he looks at on television as gospel, or so that when he gets to read he doesn't think everything in a textbook or a newspaper is unalterable truth.

A basic axiom accepted by mental health workers and futurists alike is that what causes many people to become mentally ill is a dysfunction between what they think as children the world will be like and what they find it really is as adults. If they think they are going to grow up to be hunters, and then as adults are sent into fishing villages, they may be seriously jarred. We have had ample evidence in recent political life that things are not always what they seem. If you let your children grow up thinking things *are* always what they seem, you are doing them a disservice—you are making them into hunters who may need to become fishermen.

Thinking Across Disciplines

We are led hereby to suggest a third big idea you may need to teach young children: *to think broadly, to become super-generalists.* Children have boundless curiosity. No one knows how much a child absorbs from his environment during his first few years of life or what will be integrated into his personality and his thinking, but I postulate that more is and can be absorbed than we have hitherto suspected. For example, I have told children of preschool age about some of my experiences in Antarctica, such as the fact that gasoline vapors there were proved to have come from London automobile exhausts. To be sure, these young children knew very little about distances or winds, but if they keep learning such things they will come to recognize that problems like pollution or human traffic or infectious diseases cannot be solved just by concentrating on a parochial level. Winds, seas and disease do not respect national boundaries.

Systems-Analysis

Children can be taught to integrate knowledge of systems in ever-widening circles. I don't know how to tell you to do it, but as professionals you will be challenged to find ways. Just because no one yet knows how doesn't mean it can't be done.

Creative Altruism

Recognizing that such problems as overcrowding and the desire to enjoy the technological benefits of modern life can lead to friction and conflict, perhaps you will also find ways to *help young children learn more about conflict resolution and decision-making*. In your games and play materials you can incorporate experiments in the fostering of hope and altruism, in teaching children to control their destiny through collaboration rather than through excessive, destructive competition.

One way is to make the child more aware of his interactions with others. Other methods, such as the use of motion pictures, could be employed to make children more aware of when they might be offending someone, and in turn of how to defend themselves against someone else's micro-offenses.

In the past forty years social science experimentation has shown that by age five children already have a lot of political attitudes. Regardless of economic or social background, almost every kindergartner has a tenacious loyalty to his country and its leader. This phenomenon is understandable in the psychological terms of loyalty to a strong father-figure and of the need for security. But a child *can* enter kindergarten with the same kind of loyalty to the earth as to his homeland.

New Views of Parenting

Another essential curricular decision you will have to make is what to *teach a young child about his future role as a man or a woman.* A lot will depend on what you know and what your philosophy is about parenting.

If there is universal and foolproof contraception, if more women are in the labor force and have good economic security, then attitudes about sex in succeeding generations may differ broadly from those held now. Women won't have to take a "second-class" husband just for economic reasons. Already we are hearing about experiments that are challenging our traditional views of monogamous marriage patterns.

At the time I got married (I've been married nearly twenty-five years), if a child got sick it would have been unthinkable for the father to stop work to take him to a doctor—that would have been the wife's job. This idea is being eroded; and by the time your child grows up, there will probably be much more sharing of parenting-tasks and family-life arrangements. The end result I suggest is that you might anticipate a need to be flexibly adaptive to all kinds of possibilities.

Learning To Relinquish

Finally—and perhaps most difficult of all—you will have to *teach children how to unlearn, how to re-learn and how to give up things.*

Today, to use the machines in the average American home, a housewife harnesses energy that is equal to the output of 500 human beings. In the twenty-first century, when the children you are teaching grow up, it will be virtually impossible for everybody in the world to have the energy equivalent of 500 human beings at his disposal. Indeed, despite unforeseen scientific advances, it will be virtually impossible for everybody in the world to have as much as the average man does today in Harlem. He doesn't have as much as the "average man" in Beverly Hills or Scarsdale, but he probably has a transistor radio, a telephone and a refrigerator. He may have a car. He undoubtedly has a television set. In no way does it seem probable that within a generation will there be enough for *everybody* in the whole world to have that much.

We can't take things away from a child in Scarsdale or Harlem for the benefit of a child in South America or Malaysia—life doesn't work like that. But if we know there cannot be enough to go around because of such considerations as the finite amount of existing resources, then each generation will have to have a little less, give up a little more; and we must hope it can do so in an orchestrated fashion, fast enough to keep up with the growth of technology, so that the world doesn't become unhinged.

Public Problem Number One

If we truly accept that today's child must grow to be a cosmopolite and planetary citizen, we face major problems. How do you get a child to see that the whole world is his province when every day on television he sees people who can't live next door to their neighbors, who argue about things like busing?

Beyond the horizon I think the major problem to be solved in America if we are to enable people to grow as super-generalists and planetary citizens is the elimination of racism. Paradoxically, both the two chief deterrents and the two chief facilitators to this goal are the public school system and the mass media.

As we have seen, black people are essentially a segregated urban population. The trouble as far as America is concerned is not that there are too many militant and active blacks, but rather just the opposite—blacks are too passive, too defeated, too demoralized because day after day in school systems they are locked in and brutalized in all sorts of gross and subtle ways into accepting second-class citizenship. If you accept a definition of education that says its role is acculturating people to their adult reality, then the public school system to be successful for blacks *must* work to create passive, accepting, defeated, demoralized blacks. Television and newspapers successfully supplement and complement this kind of degradation to minorities.

But the fantastic success of the public school system and the mass media means that, instead of being enemies to the elimination of racism and to the development of planetary citizens, they must become equally successful as deliverers and rescuers. Again, what is needed is to learn how to utilize the body of multidisciplined speculation about what is possible, probable and desirable for the future. Early childhood specialists have a staggering responsibility but an unrivalled importance in producing planetary citizens whose geographic and intellectual provinces are as limitless as their all-embracing humanity.

Educating Children for Lifelong Learning and a Learning Society

Louise M. Berman

Since human beings question, search and wonder, why does a society give attention to lifelong learning? Is it not the nature of the person to think, to know and to extend one's fields of awareness?

On the surface, a consideration of persons and what they do leads to the conclusion that healthy persons of any age are doers, thinkers and knowers. Perhaps, then, the best a society can do is to keep out of the way of its citizens whose energy causes them to inquire into issues of significance to them.

At the same time, however, any group of persons, in order to become a community, must have a shared culture. Thus, the major emphasis in programs of formal schooling is frequently upon the shared culture. Consider, for example, the current trends in secondary schools that focus upon common subjects, with little room for individual choice in determining what is significant to know.

Even before the marked attention to high school prompted by such reports as *A Nation at Risk*, secondary schools were seen as detours through which people pass on life's journey. Secondary students, according to Strydesky (1976, p. 2), are faced with refractors: "1) segregation of subjects, 2) forced choices, 3) abstract values, 4) fragmented time, 5) large group instruction, 6) compulsory attendance, 7) college entrance exams, and 8) required credits for graduation and diploma." Currently the detour is becoming more rocky and narrow, as choices become increasingly limited and knowledge is seen as being external to rather than generated by the learner. The assumption seems to be made that standardized curricula for young people approximately 14 through 18 years of age will prepare them to be continuing learners in a learning society.

A review of the work of many state departments of education bears testimony to the fact that the response to such reports as *A Nation at Risk* is to standardize secondary curriculum across the state, search for consistency among school practices and equate excellence with mastery of a narrowed-down body of content.

At the same time, *A Nation at Risk* does give approximately one out of 36 pages to the concept of the "learning society." The writers of the report say:

> In a world of ever-accelerating competition and change in the conditions of the workplace, of ever-greater danger, and of ever-larger opportunities for those prepared to meet them, educational reform should focus on the goal of creating a learning society. At the heart of such a society is the commitment to a set of values and to a system of education that affords all members the opportunity to stretch their minds to full capacity, from early childhood through adulthood, learning more as the world changes. Such a society has as basic foundation the idea that education is important not only because of what it contributes to one's career goals but also because of the value it adds to the general

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quality of one's life. . . . In our view, formal schooling in youth is the essential foundation for learning throughout one's life. But without lifelong learning one's skills will become rapidly dated (pp. 13, 14).

Mention is made of museums, art galleries, workplaces, homes and science centers (p. 14) as places for learning opportunities. The dilemma though, raised by *A Nation at Risk* and a number of other political documents focusing upon the high school, is the lack of integration of the theme of lifelong learning into the recommendations that follow, most of them focusing on the secondary school.

> **"Lifelong learning . . . becomes a means by which an individual throughout his/her lifetime initiates, directs, organizes, makes meaning, and engages in stocktaking about learning both in formal and non-formal educational settings."**

Although startling and persuasive in its rhetoric, *A Nation at Risk* fails to take into account the complexities of preparing students to be connoisseurs of the past, implementers in the present and visionaries for the future. Furthermore, the report does not deal with the complexities of the interaction between goals of statutory schools and goals of the lifelong learner. It gives no attention to differences in inner-directed learning and outer-directed education. Nonetheless, whatever the weaknesses, this and other reports on education have generated healthy dialogue, this issue of *Childhood Education* being one example.

THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION

A basic premise of this writer is that individuals of all ages must assume as much responsibility as possible for their own education. For individuals to be self-motivating and self-initiating, the environment or settings must be amenable and responsive to human interaction. If settings do not allow for permeability and malleability, then individual initiative in the learning process is stifled.

Lifelong learning then becomes a means by which an individual throughout his/her lifetime initiates, directs, organizes, makes meaning, and engages in stocktaking about learning both in formal and non-formal educational settings. Lifelong learning involves the weaving and reweaving of new insights, questions and problematic situations into new understandings in order to enhance life. Lifelong learning involves being as much in control of one's destiny as one's maturational state will allow. It takes place best in settings that are responsive and over which individuals feel they have control. Furthermore, it is enhanced by opportunities for self-reflection and critical scrutiny brought to bear on the quality of thought (Gorovitz, 1982, p. 198). The tendencies toward lifelong learning begin in early childhood and can be enhanced or deterred through the formal processes of schooling.

A learning society is one in which citizens have opportunities for sustained non-formal learning and intermittent periods of formal learning throughout the life span. A learning society is one in which its members assume major responsibility for enhancing their own learning within settings that are flexible, adaptive and enlivening.

A major premise is that lifelong learning within a learning society is fundamental to the development of the person, to the enhancement of humane and just societies, and to the development and perpetuation of legacies and visions of which humankind can be proud.

EDUCATIONAL GOALS

If one accepts the assumptions that lifelong learning is important, that persons in concert can form learning societies, and that learning individuals and a learning society are dependent upon self-motivating and self-initiating persons, then all segments of schooling, both formal and informal, must assume responsibility for seeing that individuals have opportunities to develop certain skills and qualities. These skills might be described as ones that:

1. Develop meaning-making and thinking skills
2. Enhance self-concept and feelings of personal worth
3. Advance futuristic thinking and planning
4. Create values necessary for a just and good society.

"A learning society is one in which its members assume major responsibility for enhancing their own learning within settings that are flexible, adaptive and enlivening."

These skills might be translated into statements of educational goals that become the basis of societies concerned about lifelong learning within learning societies.

Goal One: Development of Meaning-making and Thinking Skills

Finding meaning in what one undertakes and being able to communicate that meaning are central to any set of educational goals for lifelong learning. If life is vapid, insipid and lacking in luster, then individuals are not apt to search after new learnings, new adventures and fresh endeavors.

As persons make meaning, a number of skills and qualities are necessary. First, a sense of wonder is a prerequisite to the mulling over, thinking and questioning in the meaning-making process. Sloan (1980, p. 2) says that "wonder, a sense of enchantment, of respect for the mysteries of love for the other . . . is essential to the difference between a knowing that is simply the garnering of information and techniques and knowing that seeks insight and understanding."

Second, a search after insight is integral to the meaning-making process. The mind passionately moves out of its "rigid grooves and fixed compartments" (Bohn, 1980, p. 13). Insight involves building upon the intuitive, considering and managing seeming paradoxes, and being willing to deal with uncertainties as well as certainties.

Third, the meaning-maker asks the uncommon or the "heretical question" (Lamm, 1983) in an attempt to break away from dogma and to find new wholes.

Fourth, the meaning-maker learns to live with ambiguity, using it as a spur to the creation of meaning. The person realizes that "although man builds a many-faceted world, full knowledge of it as though it were a fixed and preordained thing is never given" (Lyons, 1963, p. 191). Daring to confront ambiguity, admitting to imperfections in knowledge, dealing with contradictions—such is the stuff of meaning-making.

Fifth, the meaning-maker is a decision-maker in an uncertain world, a world in which the *real* questions frequently are not clear, to say nothing of the answers.

In creating settings for meaning-making, persons need opportunities to deal with complex problems drawing upon a range of thinking and meaning-making skills. Too frequently elementary and secondary schools are seen as settings in which persons store up knowledge to be used in later life. Frequently, knowledge is presented in a linear manner and fails to evoke tensions and passions that surface when dealing with the problematic, the complex and the ambiguous. Educational settings might provide time for individual reflection, communication of these reflections and clarification of them with other persons. In this way, students of all ages can develop skills necessary in an uncertain age.

Goal Two: Development of Self-Concept and Self-Esteem

The individual who learns to see life as problematic, as complex, as ambiguous and yet as necessitating decision-making faces the challenge of developing a hardy self-concept and sense of self-esteem. Although self-concept and self-esteem traditionally have been used interchangeably, Beane and Lipka (1984, pp. 5-6) make a distinction between the two. Self-concept refers to the "description an individual attaches to himself or herself. It is based on the roles one plays and the attributes one believes he or she possesses." The term self-concept does not involve value judgments. Self-esteem, however, "refers to the evaluation one makes of the self-concept description and, more specifically, to the degree to which one is satisfied or dissatisfied with it, in whole or in part."

The self-concept is referred to by other writers as the psyche. It is "*what is given to only one person*" (Merleau-Ponty, 1964, p. 114).

What are some of the skills and qualities critical to the person building a good self-concept and self-esteem?

First, persons who understand their self-concepts are developing increasing self-knowledge. They know what seems worthwhile to them; they know what experiences are enlivening for them and which ones seem to bring about boredom. They know what kinds of circumstances seem to increase and which seem to diminish the quality of life for them. They know the persons to whom they seem to relate well and those to whom they have trouble relating. They know what seems to make them feel secure and what seems to make them feel insecure.

Second, persons are coming with increasing awareness to the knowledge of who they are and who they are in relationship to the situations of which they are part.

If persons are to develop a healthy self-concept and a sense of self-esteem, they need opportunities in school to grapple with their feelings of self-worth in a variety of situations. In what kinds of settings do students feel competent? Incompetent? Realization needs to be given to the fact that although persons may appear to be successful or unsuccessful in terms of standards predetermined outside the individual, the individual's insights and perceptions are the key determinants in seeing and evaluating self.

Goal Three: Futuristic Thinking and Planning

As societies grow, change and develop new visions, persons can develop skills and qualities that enable them to be contributors as well as consumers of society's resources.

First, persons preparing for futuristic orientations better understand the concept of community, including responsibility, loyalty, caring and a higher sense of moral reasoning (Popkewitz and Tabachnick, 1981, pp. 166-67). Community has always been an important concept, but a smaller world means that attention needs to be given to helping persons live in groups where commitments are visible, domination is gone and responsible freedom resides. People can establish how they will participate in creating not only probable futures but also possible futures.

Second, persons can study, analyze and predict trends. Such skill is necessary if persons are to design for themselves meaningful programs of lifelong learning.

Third, persons can help flatten bureaucracies and create modes of living where the humanity of each individual is prized. Vertical organizational patterns give way to horizontal forms of networking (*The Futurist*, June 1984). Formal purchases of goods and services are partially replaced by bartering and informal exchanges of services.

Fourth, persons develop a degree of awareness of personal preferences for change and constancy. With overchoice being both a dilemma and a delight, persons can assess their own propensities for dealing with choice, change and constancy and make the necessary decisions.

Opportunities for dealing with future trends need to be available to persons of all ages. The creation of alternative communities can begin in the early grades so that persons can begin to experience through simulation possible alternative futures. Enlivening experiences oriented toward the future can provide the excitement necessary for achieving skills required in a new century.

Values Necessary for a Just and Good Society

Lifelong learning and a learning society in and of themselves are not necessarily "good" goals. Like money, learning is a neutral commodity that can be used for good or evil. It is imperative, therefore, that any goal statement for lifelong learning take into account the necessity of working toward good and just societies. Even the young can begin to learn a number of the values associated with a just and good society.

First, persons can learn to deal with conflict and disagreement. Any endeavor that encourages creativity and spontaneity is bound to evoke a wealth of ideas—many of them competing. Such competition may cause conflict. Yet, the same imagination that resulted in the conflict-producing situations can result in conflict-reduction techniques.

Second, persons can become aware of inequalities and develop a desire to do something about situations in which inequalities exist.

Third, persons can learn to deal with imperfections, to be self-critical. Lightfoot (1983) describes several "good" high schools in terms of the school's ability to deal with imperfections in a self-critical mode.

Fourth, persons can learn to manage their affairs with justice which involves maximum personal freedom within a framework of liberty for all and attention to the least advantaged in the distribution of goods (Rawls, 1971).

Students of all ages can find examples of poorly handled instances of conflict, inequities in communities, unjust practices, and unexamined imperfections in persons and organizations. Even the young can learn to handle these issues, but a society concerned about lifelong education *must* learn to deal with complex matters of social justice.

> **". . . the tightening of the curriculum at the secondary school level and the deletion of options in many high schools militate against certain of the premises of lifelong education."**

RESPONSIBILITY FOR GOAL-SETTING

Although states traditionally have been held responsible for quality education from kindergarten through secondary school and for maintenance of certain higher education standards, states have not had the responsibility for designing, implementing or evaluating lifelong education programs. It is basically left up to the individual to determine his/her engagement in such activities.

With the necessity of continuing both formal and non-formal education, seemingly the time has come for a reconsideration of the roles of states, individuals, professional organizations and other groups concerned about education. Some creative thinking and planning need to take place for the purpose of framing alternative plans. Perhaps a professional organization such as ACEI, or ACEI in concert with other professional associations, including the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, might design planning sessions for the purpose of establishing means of studying lifelong learning, its meaning for the elementary school as well as other levels of education. Ultimately the group might prepare plans for discussion in the public arena. The country has not studied lifelong learning as a phenomenon having an impact on all of schooling. In fact, the tightening of the curriculum at the secondary school level and the deletion of options in many high schools militate against certain premises of lifelong education.

Initially, therefore, informal groups of persons both at state and national levels might explore the purposes of lifelong education and potential means of delivering programs. ACEI is seen as a likely initiator for shaping lifelong education programs because curricula for children would probably need to be changed radically if lifelong learning were truly prized. Children would need experiences fundamental to forming a desire for continuing education—experiences designed to foster personal power, a sense of worth, a sense of discovery and a desire to investigate issues of concern to them.

Among the items that need attention in the plan of lifelong learning are the following: 1) planning, administering and financing; 2) role of the individual learner; 3) relationship with other organizations and agencies.

Planning, Administering, Financing

In thinking about the implications of setting in motion plans for lifelong learning and a learning society, attention needs to be given to a variety of issues related to initiation, planning and maintenance of programs. Obviously, persons do continue to learn throughout a lifetime regardless of settings, but opportunities and access to programs can make for richer and fuller lives for all.

Among the questions that need to be addressed in planning programs for lifelong learning are:

☐ Who makes the decisions relative to their purposes?

☐ What is the relationship of lifelong education to formal schooling?

☐ How should the curriculum of formal schooling be changed in settings in which planned opportunities for lifelong learning exist?

☐ How would existing programs of lifelong learning be integrated into a long-range plan?

☐ What is the role of individuals, states, private organizations, and any other agencies or groups in financing lifelong learning?

☐ How can a variety of parties concerned about lifelong learning jointly finance programs?

☐ How can persons have access to opportunities for lifelong education throughout their lifetimes at public expense?

☐ How can accountability systems that are credible and flexible be developed and implemented?

Role of the Individual

☐ What responsibilities for lifelong education might individuals acquire in the early years and elementary school?

☐ At what stages or points in life do individuals need specialized experiences that fall under the rubric of lifelong education?

☐ How can individuals keep track of their own learning?

☐ What kinds of record-keeping systems might individuals have to assist them in keeping track of their learning?

☐ What help might individuals receive in evaluating next steps?

☐ What needs to be developed at the community level so that individuals can find easy access to learnings important for them in their settings?

☐ What kinds of categories or taxonomies will help persons keep track of what they are learning?

☐ What are the enduring and critical concepts that should become part of the individual's core of learnings, such as personal power, various kinds of literacies and world citizenship?

Relationship with Other Organizations and Agencies

Lifelong education is necessary if one is to be a useful and productive citizen both of the immediate and the broader community. Networking and more formal arrangements among a variety of agencies can assist individuals in their pursuit of learning. Questions such as the following might be given consideration.

☐ What can private business and industry do in assisting persons in their search for lifelong learning?

☐ What is the role of world organizations, such as UNESCO, in the search for concepts critical to lifelong learning and world understanding and cooperation?

☐ What is the role of health, religious and social institutions in the quest for lifelong education? How should these organizations interface with others concerned about lifelong education?

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Lifelong learning is a phenomenon whose time has come. The planning for it can no longer be left to chance and addressed to those few individuals who by virtue of a propensity for formal learning also engage in opportunities for lifelong learning.

If, however, lifelong learning is to become a serious concern, then from the early grades until death persons need opportunities to gain skills that enable them to be perceptive, sensitive persons, able to deal adequately with self and others. Embedded in process-type curricula will be opportunities to learn skills desired by the local citizen. High priority might be given to issues necessary to the development and enhancement of the community and to those which have the power to cause a larger social awareness. In other words, opportunities for lifelong learning should have the potential for enhancing the self as a member of the immediate community and the larger world.

"Lifelong learning is a phenomenon whose time has come. The planning for it can no longer be left to chance . . ."

Planning groups, possibly initiated by professional organizations but involving persons from state departments of education, universities, schools and other concerned agencies need to work out detailed plans for dealing with such areas as establishing content priorities, financing, implementing, administering, and resolving conflict bound to arise in any creative setting. In addition, the planning group should develop mechanisms for education, both formal and informal, to be spread out over a lifetime with opportunities to move in and out without major financial setbacks for the individual.

It is time for the talk about lifelong learning to move into the public arena. It needs to receive the same amount of concern as the secondary school currently receives. The results may well be educational approaches characterized by enlivening and worthwhile experiences for the individual. Carefully planned experiences can lead to more just, socially aware and concerned citizens.

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Nurturing Our Roots

Ira J. Gordon

I AM HONORED to give this lecture as a memorial to Dr. Rebecca Baker, who in her own life and in her professional effort embodied the best of our beliefs about humanity, about personal dedication and concern for young children. Her efforts were not parochial, but were international in scope. Even within the United States she worked for all children and would be pleased if she were with us, I am sure, to endorse ACEI's *1977-80 Plan of Action* and its emphasis on values and the quality of life. This lecture is dedicated to her memory.[*]

As I began to examine in my own mind the assigned topic of "Nurturing Our Roots," I thought, "Why should we?" Or "Which ones?" Or "What are they?" I would like first to sketch out to you some answers to the question "What are our roots?"—before we decide to nurture all of them, alike or not.

We members of the Association for Childhood Education International have three main sources for our roots: (1) our common roots because of the "I" in our title, as human beings living on planet earth; (2) our common roots as members of the twentieth century and, for most of us, twentieth-century Western civilization; and (3) *in spite of* the "I" in our title, for a large part of our membership, our roots as citizens of the United States.

HUMAN ROOTS

Let us look first at our human roots. Considerable controversy now rages between biologists and sociologists and a group calling themselves sociobiologists about what is special about humankind. What is genetically special about us? Is humankind basically aggressive or is humankind basically cooperative?

We can seek answers from not only a biological point of view but also from another root common for many of us—our biblical heritage. I'd like to use a couple of quotations as an allegory for biology. Two well-known sections from the Torah, from the Book of Genesis, illustrate these beginnings. The first says, "And God created man in his image, male and female, he created them." The second, about four sections later, says, "Cain set upon his brother Abel and killed him. The Lord said to Cain, 'Where is your brother Abel?' and he said, 'I do not know. Am I my brother's keeper?' " If we change these quotations from allegory to biology, our roots show both sides of human nature—our capacity to be Godlike and creative and what looks un-

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[*] *Editor's Note:* Rebecca E. Baker, Professor of Early Childhood Education at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, and ACEI President-Elect when she died in September 1972, was "an outstanding professional leader and untiring advocate for children" (see tribute by Alberta L. Meyer, Dec. 1972 Branch Exchange, p. 140-D).

"We can add some Rs . . . remembering . . . rebirth of concern for aesthetics . . . responsiveness and responsibility for social action." Ira J. Gordon's call for a new synthesis in childhood education keynoted the ACEI Annual Study Conference held in Charlotte, North Carolina, in March 1978. It was delivered as the IInd Rebecca Baker Memorial Lecture.

With great sadness, we have learned of the recent death of Dr. Gordon, who was Kenan Professor and Dean, School of Education, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. This issue is dedicated to him.

"We should be selective in what we take from these roots to decide to nourish."

Photographs by Jem Cohen, Washington, D.C.

fortunately like our infinite capacity for destruction.

Based on today's understanding of child development, what are some other human roots? Essential qualities can be seen emerging in the infant: the language orientation—the fact that infants beginning only a few hours after birth are already tuned in to voice and particularly to language sounds rather than other sounds; the smile, which biologists now tell us is probably a survival technique because if the infant smiles at you what else can you do but nurture; the long period of dependency—the fact that the human infant cannot survive without competent adult care; the openness to learning and the considerable degree to which the infant and the young child seek to learn.

The young child learns mostly by seeing and interpreting the consequences of his or her behavior. Regardless of how we choose to theorize about it—whether we believe Piaget or Skinner or Bandura or Dewey—the evidence seems fairly clear that basic human qualities are the desire and the motivation to learn, and the learning through interpretation and making sense out of what happens to one. This capacity to learn, especially through language, has been an outstanding human quality.

Whether each of us will be a Cain or an Abel, whether we will emphasize the creativity in us or the destruction in us, depends upon what we learn. Our values are communicated and internalized through experience, although the capacity is there. And that leads obviously to the second set of roots—our historical and our cultural origins.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY ROOTS

In a recent (February 18, 1978) *Saturday Review* article Jean Mayer, President of Tufts University, reported his response to the question:

> Since few schools teach Latin and Greek, can I assume that educators now pretty much agree that the classical languages don't belong in modern curricula?

Mayer's reply was:

> If we are to equip students to function well as citizens and civilized individuals something more or something different is needed. . . . Only by giving students an understanding of our civilization, its roots and their place in it, can we help our students to achieve an understanding of the ways in which our, or any civilized society works, and an ability to direct it rather than be manipulated by it. In this endeavor I think that we shall find that dead Greek and Latin are very much alive and well.

And he goes on to say:

> Like many French and British children raised before WWII, I began studying Latin at the age of 9 and Greek at 11. It is true that familiarity with the rigor of Latin and the suppleness of Greek is an incomparable step toward mastery of expression in any language. Latin and Greek are also history, taught in the most vivid way. . . .
>
> Our classics teachers achieved much more than political history—they taught us the development of ideas. But more important than teaching facts and epistemology is that the study of the classics formed our character, our tastes, our view of ourselves as citizens of democracy. We learn that the greatest injustice can be meted out by applying the law without attempting to gauge the consequences of the judgment. The classics formed our tastes. We memorized Homer, Euripides, Virgil and especially Horace; but we learned from Locke and Montesquieu, the drafters of the American and French constitutions, how a democracy is born, how it survives, how it dies. Besides learning about reason and beauty, we learned about freedom.

My initial reaction to Dr. Mayer's position was: yes, but what about those of us whose ancestors were the unwilling recipients of Greek and Roman culture? What about the Africans at Carthage, for whom Cato decreed Carthage must be destroyed? What about the Gauls and the German tribes over whom Caesar exulted "I came, I saw and I conquered"? What about the Jews who fought the first war for religious freedom against Alexander's Hellenistic descendants, and whose temple was destroyed by the Romans because they revolted against its being made a place for Jupiter-worship? What about the early Christians who were massacred in what is now a glorious ruin, the Colosseum? The glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome had its evil side. In my lifetime the people who had this classic education that Jean Mayer is so proud about—the elite of Europe—suffered a Hitler to arise; and now they play games with other authoritarian forces in the Soviet Union and in the Arab Middle East.

We should therefore be selective in what we take from these roots to decide to nourish. We should not only be selective from within that classical tradition, but we must recognize the roots that transcend them to bring into the awareness of American children and other children those civilizations before Greece and Rome, after Greece and Rome, and during the time of Greece and Rome which have contributed so much to twentieth-century humanity. Our religion, our language, our literature, our laws, our political forms, our educational systems owe much to a variety of ancient civilizations and are not simply descended from this classical tradition. Furthermore, the descendants of that culture imposed colonialism on Asia and Africa and sowed the seeds still coming to harvest today. But much remains to be said for recognizing our classical heritage, and I shall return to it.

UNITED STATES ROOTS

Our third heritage, for those of us who are United States citizens or residents and chauvinistically call ourselves Americans to the exclusion of Mexicans and Canadians and all our colleagues in South America, is national. Although we were taught that our American heritage rested on England, there were many early contributions before the Revolution and during it from other European nations, from Africa, from the native American population, and in the religious area from the Old as well as the New Testament.

I recently had an interesting experience visiting in San Antonio, when I learned of the Texan Institute of Culture, which is designed to show the roots that make up the present Texas population. Every country in Europe is represented, as are Africa and Asia; many religious faiths are represented. So that supposedly most American of all places, Texas, has roots that reach way back into a heritage made up of people who each contributed in his or her fashion to that great state.

Freedom↔Slavery

In the United States we are, then, people from many origins—the first self-conscious modern nation. We are the first to state as rights for our people life, liberty and, most intriguing of all, the pursuit of happiness. We are probably the first immigrant nation since Alexander the Great used his army as immigrants to control territory.

But in our culture, *which* roots do we choose to nurture? The roots are not all good or all pure. When we nurture or nourish our roots which do we choose? In North Carolina do we choose "first in freedom" (N.C. license tag) or the fact that we still have the Wilmington Ten? In the United States how do we look back at our mixed history of liberty and slavery?

Cultural Pluralism↔Melting Pot

How do we look back at our slogans of melting pot and cultural pluralism? Which choices do we make? President Theodore Roosevelt, back in 1919, addressing an "All-American Festival" in New York City, said:

> We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boardinghouse.

Those words have a strange ancient ring; but if you turn to the news of March 6, 1978, to the *U.S. News and World Report* in particular, the headline is "A Storm Brews over Bilingual Teaching" and states:

> The Carter administration is preparing to trim the most controversial segment from a school program in which children who speak little English are instructed in their native languages and cultures.

They discuss the differing views about this and have a box that says "A Babble of Tongues" and ends with:

> The plan is described by an HEW official as a middle-of-the-road course. He adds, "We aren't ruling out programs for cultural enrichment, but we consider the fundamental purpose should be that kids learn English."

Open Society↔Class and Caste

It is our myth and to some degree our actuality that we are an open society. If you travel abroad, you come back realizing that we are indeed the most open society. But we are not fully open; at the same time we continue to be a *class* and *caste* society. We have both of these roots. If you look at current federal legislation and debate about the use of the federal tax system to support private and parochial elementary schools, you wonder about the perpetuation of such a class and caste society. If you look in local communities at the use of zoning and other patterns to perpetuate housing ghettoization, and if you look at the continued debate over busing, you realize that we have not yet emerged from that mixture of an open society versus a class and caste society.

Individual↔Government

Another mixture we have is individual versus government intervention. We pride ourselves on being a nation of individuals. We judge people as to whether or not they made something out of themselves. Yet if you look back to the 1780s to the Northwest Ordinance—one of the first Congressional acts, the establishment of which led to statehood for Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin—you find provisions for setting aside land for schooling. If you look at how the West was really won, you know that the Homestead Act of 1863 was a deliberate attempt on the part of the government to give to settlers 160 acres if they could farm it. If you look at the dispute in California today over irrigation, you know the amount of government intervention to turn arid land into viable land. We gave railroad corporations five miles on each side of the tracks as the price for building them.

What is the proper role of government in helping us achieve life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—or in helping, as stated in the preamble of our Constitution, to promote the general welfare? We have here, too, that mixed bag. And, further, there is continual tension between local versus federal control over our lives.

Local Control↔Federal Control

We talk as though we are dedicated in education and in other ways to local control. Yet we are all increasingly aware of the considerable amount of shift of power in the last twenty or thirty years or so from localities and states to federal government—a shift that many of us cheered and demanded because localities and states were not enabling people to achieve the best of our heritage.

Our United States roots, then, reflect no single or easy set of answers as to what to nurture. But there does seem to be a trend, although uneven, toward increased human and civil rights, toward an increased concern to use government power to intervene on behalf of the individual and the individual child. The latest example is Public Law 94-142 which insures that each child, regardless of his biological or her biological condition or capacity to learn, be given the opportunity to develop and grow to whatever that child can be. The struggle for increased human and civil rights and concern for the individual is probably one of our deepest roots, and one of those we as members of this organization should cherish. The struggle still goes on.

Evolution↔Revolution

Another basic trend is that we are an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary society. By way of contrast, visit Europe sometime and talk with students, college students and people in the street. You will see that they behave and think in far more ideological terms than we and that they differ as to their view of future. We differ, too, among ourselves; but somehow we stay inside of a commitment to a common ideology of democracy, a belief in the individual, which many young people in Europe no longer hold.

Basics↔Frills

In education, what are our roots? We keep trying, in Thomas Wolfe's phrase, to "go home again," to get back to those mysterious things called "the basics," which get defined as the three Rs. But the one-room school and agrarian society are gone, and Walton's mountain and the Little House on the Prairie really do not exist. Yet the varieties of Hester Street *do* still exist in the struggles of the new urban immigrant to make it in the city: the Black, the Puerto Rican, the Chicano, the Cuban, the Vietnamese, the Russian Jew. The good old days were probably not so good. The purpose of schooling in 1892 when the Association for Childhood Education International was founded was a smattering of the three Rs for the many and that marvelous Mayer classical education for the few—a model that does not fit the needs of people in an advanced technological post-industrial society. We need more than those old basics.

In education, we have the dichotomies we have in a larger society. We struggle over basics versus frills, cognition versus affect, convergent versus divergent thinking, democratic versus autocratic classrooms. And what in the world do we mean by competency? By freedom? Where does responsibility for education enter? For example, in a democratic classroom what is the role of the teacher? Raywid (1976, pp. 37-46) indicates that John Dewey understood that typically it was the teacher, not the student, who knew what needed to be learned and the steps necessary to bringing that learning about. But she states that people have confused political democracy—one person, one vote—with the democratic classroom:

> If we must describe the teacher's role in political terms, then, it seems somewhat less than democracy's ideal. Fundamentally incompatible demands push the teacher to function more as a demagogue than as a duly constituted democratic leader. To be successful educators, teachers must be engineers and manipulators of consent, highly accomplished at attaching learner purposes to the service of educational ends (Raywid, 1976, p. 41).

Raywid says:

> For Dewey teachers clearly cannot function as teachers if classroom decisions actually are made on the basis of one vote per person—yet perhaps nothing is more fundamental to political democracy than this formal provision for equal power. . . . If classrooms really did become genuine democracies, we still would have no assurance that those persons Dewey wanted so carefully prepared for the role would be elected to the post of teacher at all (Raywid, 1976, p. 41).

I am sure you are all acquainted with that travesty of children voting on whether it's raining outside, rather than going out and taking a look. We also have much of our confusion today over what open education means.

In the realm of community action and the role of parent and community people in agency decision-making, there is also a considerable mixture of roots. The fact that we have much conflict about the roles and responsibilities of parents and community people in educational decision-making will make it difficult for this Association, for example, to implement part of its *Plan of Action*: Action Area I, Section C, which has as one of its points "utilizing community resources to maintain quality programs, despite decreasing financial resources." There is considerable confusion as to how one ought to go about doing it and what roots of our tradition of lay control over public schools ought to be represented in that effort.

TOWARD SYNTHESIS

Basically up to this point we have used a kind of pro-and-con, good-evil model—a product of Greek thought, with Zoroastrian Persian overtones, as reflected in Aristotle. But we have another root in ancient philosophy, in native American tradition, in oriental thought and in modern science, which we label today "synthesis"—the unity and wholeness of nature and humankind as a part of nature. This means that we acknowledge and use *all* of our roots. We profit and understand and apply both the positive and negative elements of our biological and our cultural heritages. Our choices are not simply individual versus society, cognition versus affect, local versus national. We need new amalgams, new conceptualizations, which aim toward harmony, the use of many strands to produce answers to educating our children and ourselves to live in a rapidly changing world. This is what I really mean by cultural pluralism.

So what can and what should we do? In education, again, it is essential that we be a literate society. But I would remind you that in the 30s the most technologically literate society was the one that produced the gas chamber. *Simple literacy, without values, is probably reflecting Cain and not God.* Since language is the major means of communication and one of our special human qualities, all our children should know the first two Rs. Computation, the third R, is also basic for a technological society; whether for production or consumption, work or leisure, one cannot understand the modern world without numbers. We now know, however, that communication has a visual and spatial side, that language is linear but pictures are not, that most effective learning and communication and remembering take both sides of the human brain. Even as we teach those three Rs, we need to develop new methodology that attends to what we now know about human brain and human thought.

SOME EXTRA Rs

But we can add some Rs. We have R in roots, obviously, and we have those three Rs.

Remembering

The first of these extra Rs is *remembering*. At Yad Vashem in Jeursalem, which is a memorial to the Six Million, a slogan appears on the wall. Written in the seventeenth or sixteenth century by a Polish rabbi who was given the title of Master of the Good Word, the Bal Shem Tov, it says, "Forgetfulness leads to exile, while remembrance is the secret of redemption." If we forget our roots, we are in exile—we are rootless, leaderless, directionless; while remembrance is the secret of redemption, it will enable us to choose and go forward.

We need a revamped attention to history, but that history should not be confined to the history of Western civilization. Although we need a closer attention to United States history, it ought to stress an orientation to the broad contributions so many of our parents and our grandparents made, forming and shaping the American dream. We need more attention to literature too; ah, yes, those classics *are* worthwhile. Through Shakespeare, through English and American literature, through other literature—from ancient times and other cultures and from the modern era—we really come to understand and appreciate timelessness of human concerns, the urge and desire for aesthetic expression. We cannot get this through scientific study or those basic skills alone.

In the words of Charles Frankel (1977):

> It is difficult for young people in our kind of [democratic] society even to imagine what the acceptance of inequality contemplates but I do think it is a dangerous thing when this very rapid change in the ordinary, everyday nature of their experience cuts them off from the experience and the fund of wisdom of mankind. The humanities in that sense have been fighting . . . an uphill battle, trying to make themselves intelligible in a world that finds them at least . . . a bit unintelligible.

We cannot cut our people off, our children off, from the richness of human literature and resources.

So Jean Mayer was not completely wrong. I regret that my children have lost a link with their past through literature that means so much to me. But school cannot do this alone. The family should be the major purveyor of the subcultural literature and heritage. In the area of social studies in schooling, we need to emphasize cultural anthropology and economics and geography. We need to include in this an analysis of group and individual behavior, so that our children have an appreciation of the fact that *different* does not mean *deficit*. And so that they understand how those cultures evolved and the survival mechanisms that are still in place to enable those cultures around the world to continue.

Rebirth of Aesthetic Education

We need a *rebirth of concern for aesthetics.* These are not frills. A common worry in the area of competency testing is that we will be measuring only things easily accessible to measurement—usually the least important things. We need a recognition that the aesthetic environment is related to behavior, and that the production of art and music is basic to human nature. We need only to look at the drawings of the cavemen to realize that this root of self-expression through the media of art and music and drama is essential to the human spirit.

We need to examine this mixture of roots to see our emerging common element, so that we do not fall into Theodore Roosevelt's trap of a babble, so that we transcend tribalism not only in the United States but throughout the world—a misunderstanding and a misuse of a concept we owe to Woodrow Wilson—that is, self-determination.

In a world society as complex as ours, we need to transcend tribalism and search for our common roots. In the United States, we need to examine our history to see how democracy and democratic values have grown from the time of the Declaration of Independence and the Mecklenburg Resolve, in which a republic did not mean a democracy. We need to be vigilant about the emphasis of our roots in this area. We can see, in Skokie, Illinois, a possible interpretation of the Bill of Rights which permits hate to be presented as though it were respectable. I would refer you to Jean Mayer's statement about justice requiring that we look at the consequences of our behavior rather than simply a rigid interpretation of law.

Responsiveness—and Responsibility

Other Rs are *responsiveness and responsibility for social action.* And here I would refer you to ACEI's statement in Area II and in parts of Area III of its *Plan of Action.* We need carefully to examine legislation: is it encouraging commonness, or is it divisive? Look at Title I, the Bypass Legislation for Parochial Schools, or the legislation for tax credit for tuition for elementary and secondary children. Are these going to cultivate the prejudice and bigotry and hatred weeds that sprout from our roots, rather than emphasize the importance of public education as a way to emphasize our commonality? I represent the position personally (I am not speaking for the Association) that we should offer no support, direct or indirect, of government funds to forces that divide us on racial or religious or ethnic or class lines. Cultural pluralism is not Balkanization. It is the responsibility of the public school system, and the support of that system which is the primary obligation of the state that it should not permit subsidies and tax rates for direct funding to destroy our common roots. Cultural pluralism is learning from and contributing to each other; it is not ghettoization or the re-creation of separate and unequal schools through devices that enable parents to opt out with tax dollar support. There is a right of individual selection, but I would suggest they should pay for their choice. Our slogan is one nation indivisible. *E Pluribus Unum* means one out of many. We need to develop a wider and richer and fuller mainstream, forging a new common heritage, nourishing the roots of the life-enriching plant, not cultivating the weeds.

As members of this Association, we are responsible for family survival and life survival skills in the schools and in other agencies. We need new forms of family life education; new responses to changing family needs from birth on; new organizational arrangements in schools for day care, for community schools, and the like.

Rootlessness

The last R is *rootlessness,* a symptom of the social change we are all experiencing. How do we give our children a sense of family and community? How do we give our adolescents a sense of personal worth, when they see heavy unemployment and no productive role in our present society? How do we give the urban unemployed a viable role in society? The answers are obviously larger than education, but we must make our contribution to them.

SUMMARY: SEEKING AFTER MEANING

In summary, our roots are diverse. They rest on our common biological heritage, which has the capacity for creativity and destruction. They rest on the mixture of our diverse and common cultural strains. We need to learn to use them, but not be prisoners of our time. We need to clarify our own sense of our roots and where we are now.

Our immediate next steps as members of ACEI are to use our Action Areas, but to subject each of them to careful examination. One such Action Area, for example, says "Restoring Childhood to Children." Just what does that mean? Childhood is really very new in the history of the world. I would challenge you to see where each statement in the Action program comes from. What are *its* roots? Is it a clear statement generally accepted? Or is it conflict-laden? What is needed in teacher education, in thought development, in community involvement, in legislation, to bring about carrying out that program? How do we take advantage of what we know about influencing the elite?

I began with our human roots and would like to end with them. Humans are seekers after meaning. We are future-oriented beings even though we look to the past, and we know that the pursuit of our goals is endless. To end with a piece of our literary heritage, I share a quotation by Robert Louis Stevenson, from *Familiar Studies of Men and Books* (1882). He said, "To be what we are and to become what we are capable of becoming is the only end of life."

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A City for Children: The Year 2005

Warner Bloomberg, Jr.

At last we have passed that once compelling benchmark "The Year 2000" Now as we approach the perennial question, "What are our children learning?" we citizens of 2005 obviously must look at what kind of society we have become—or are becoming. It is difficult to know how far back we must look to gain adequate perspective.

New generations still seem to emerge every five or ten years, with respect to innovation in life styles. The United States, and to only somewhat a lesser degree other fully industrialized and urbanized nations, remains changeful, still occasionally turbulent, almost as troubled as a few decades ago. But since this pattern persists, even though we continue to rail as if it were pathological rather than the norm, let us extend our time-line and resort to the old notion that a "generation" is about thirty-five years. We can then make comparisons between present communities and those we knew as far back as 1970. What were those of us who were children in the first years of the seventies "taught" by the experiences we had in the cities, where most of us lived?

LEARNING FROM THE COMMUNITY

For Adults Only

☐ *The first thing every child learned, especially in the United States, was that children weren't really wanted.* We learned this fact, not from what anyone said, for almost all adults asserted exactly the opposite. Indeed, children were told over and again that the whole community was oriented to their nurture and well-being. Only their experiences and intuitions could inform them how false was this assertion, and the incongruity between what they were told and what they sensed may have had something to do with the increasing proportion of angry urban youth whose growing numbers in the 1970s helped motivate many of the changes enjoyed by children in this first decade of the twenty-first century.

For example, a majority of the 1970s "kids" emerged each day into an environment that was in the most rudimentary ways inhospitable, if not downright unsafe. One of the community's first imperatives impressed upon

Science fiction or painful prophesy?
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—Bill Anderson, New York

every toddler who might rush out into the street or cross without looking both ways was that top priority went to the automobile. If a child were hit by a car, people assumed in almost every case that the fault was the child's "carelessness" (in not remembering to care about the prior rights of the great, rushing, wheeled monsters and their drivers). No wonder most children in the United States, almost without regard to differences in class, ethnicity, race, religion or whatever, grew up yearning to possess an automobile, with becoming a driver almost the *sine qua non* of adulthood. They didn't even have to know that adults in the cities in which they lived spent more money for parking than for parks, or that state and federal budgets allocated far more to constructing expressways than to building schools. Statistics are not needed by children to make obvious the self-evident.

Lawns and Limits

☐ *A second big lesson we children of the early 1970s learned, as soon as old enough to go about our neighborhoods, was that ornamental flowers, grass and shrubs, and something more abstract called "private property," all took precedence over the well-being of children.* In most residential areas, land available between houses or apartments and the streets was "off limits" for children, except for the sidewalks. Such land was used mainly to grow "lawns," an activity to which most adults attached substantial symbolic value, rationalized by claims of esthetic pleasure. These frivolous if not ridiculous residues of rural imagery were supplemented by an even more nonsensical rhetoric of civic virtue, as if extirpating crabgrass and dandelion had anything to do with solving community problems. A youngster who ran across lawns or picked other people's flowers was therefore seen as irresponsible, destructive and unappreciative of "beauty"—a term obviously applying more to trim bushes than to happy children.

Creating basic elements of a much more amenable physical space for children right in our own neighborhoods was, as we now know, rather simple once this country actually gave a high priority to child well-being. By the late 1980s most of our major cities had passed "residential environment acts." As a result essential arterials for trans-neighborhood traffic have been fenced off and bridged with overpasses, and the rest of the streets crisscrossed with constructed "bumps" that make it almost impossible for drivers to exceed five to seven miles an hour. Bicycle lanes through the "bumps" have helped further the shift of adults to that mode of transportation, which does much to diminish, though not quite destroy, the automobile as a major symbol of adulthood (as well as providing substantial benefits in terms of physical health and reduction of air and noise pollution). For the first time in over half a century, most city streets have become safe for children.

Equally important has been the designation of all land between residences and streets, except for a few feet in front of each house, as part of neighborhood communal property. Funded and supervised by neighborhood corporations, "block clubs" now have something real to do, and amazingly innovative uses of the space have provided children with an urban out-of-doors full of opportunities and amenities. Every street except the arterials is now integrated into what becomes in effect a mini-park accessible to the youngest children. Now children know they really are valued by the community, and most have less reason to perpetrate the mischief and petty vandalism that had grown so steadily with the increasingly hostile, rejecting character of the urban environment. Predictably, we also have room for a variety of neighborhood amenities for adults as well. Now, in the twenty-first century, we understand how infantile was our compulsive fascination for the automobile, how corrosive our valuing of property above human well-being, how destructive of a sense of community our exaggerated privatism. And we understand there could never be enough psychotherapists to undo the damaging "lessons" taught by the city to the children of the early 1970s.

Shame in the Seventies

☐ *An appallingly large minority of those children and youth had "learning experiences" even more destructive of their self-worth, their sense of being part of a humane community, their motivation for constructive and creative activity.* Those of us born into impoverished families were informed by the mass media about the "high standard of living" from which we were excluded and at the same time were given to understand by almost every authoritative message we encountered, including those voiced by the schools, that our deprivation reflected the defects of our parents, not of the society. Those who came to believe the official dicta could not help but denigrate their "failure" parents, with serious psychological consequences for themselves; while children who sustained love for those who sought so unsuccessfully to provide for their material well-being could hardly identify with communities that shamed their whole family in so many ways, obvious and subtle. And nonwhite children endured the oppression of institutionalized racism, which proved almost as unyielding through most of the seventies as it had been in the sixties. Again the schools accepted and reflected the values and practices of the larger community, for the most part renouncing racial segregation only when forced to by court edict and having to be practically bludgeoned into providing even token expressions of cultural pluralism in their curricula. Interestingly, an increasing minority of more affluent children and youth identified with their deprived and oppressed peers during the late sixties and early seventies. Their concern and episodic anger provided one dimension of the restlessness and volatility that waxed and waned and waxed again among the emerging generations of our cities.

But the pathology of the urban order in the United States of the seventies was most evident in the truly tragic experiences of a startling number of urban children.

The "Incorrigible" and "Ungovernable"

☐ *We did not decide until much nearer the end of the century that children were not the private property of parents (to be used or misused as the latter desired) and had a right to protection by the community.* We therefore do not have accurate data on child abuse prior to the late eighties. Estimates are that probably more than 30,000 were badly battered each year in the preceding decade and probably a quarter of a million annually needed protective services, which they seldom got. And the use of police power against "runaways," whose numbers rose so rapidly during this period, highlighted the fact that about a fourth of the children incarcerated as "juvenile delinquents" were "guilty" of actions that could not possibly be described as "crimes" had the accused been but a few years older: truancy, sexual activity, pregnancy, being designated as "incorrigible" by teachers or "ungovernable" by parents—in short, having rather severe versions of the problems that attended "growing up" in what sometimes seemed an antichild society.

Hunger and Heroin

☐ *Perhaps the most revealing indicator of the reality, as against the rhetoric, of the United States thirty-five years ago was the degradation of children and youth by hunger in rural areas and by heroin in great metropolitan centers.* The revelation of serious malnutrition among some children in impoverished areas of the South and Southwest logically would have brought forth, in the most affluent nation on earth, immediate massive corrective action. Even modest proposals were further diminished, however, for the sake of political vested interests. And equal tolerance was granted the proliferation in our cities of heroin and other death drugs, even among very young teenagers. The appearance of thirteen- and fourteen-year-old junkies (and, inevitably, muggers and prostitutes) produced more in the way of sensational news stories than substantial new social policies.

Although the total number of children grossly damaged by either malnutrition or drugs was quite small relative to the total, it was a critical indicator of the character of the community "normal" children sensed in so many ways.

PIETIES AND PRACTICES

Ombudsmen: Child-Advocates

☐ *What we understand now is that a community wishing to teach its children to value life must itself value the life of each of them.* And that value must be expressed, not just in its pieties and everyday rhetoric, but overtly through the policies and practices of all its institutions.

By the year 2,000 we had at least made a good start in this direction. Nurturing the new generation is now the responsibility of the whole community, and one of the city's highest priorities. In every neighborhood, school and recreational facility youthful paraprofessionals serve as "ombudsmen," responding to any indication that a child is troubled. Easily identifiable by their bright emblems, they are every child's access point to the multiplicity of services now provided directly to anyone who evidences need, without requiring an intermediate contact with "related" adults.

Since our concern in this review has been to deal with what children are "taught" by the community, schools have been mentioned only in passing. We should note that in 1970, at the very time when the courts were once again forcing needed change on career educators by requiring respect within school buildings for the constitutional rights of children and youth, the use of drugs to control so-called "behavior problems" was gaining in popularity. Perhaps 300,000 pupils were already being required or pressured to take stimulants, amphetamines, tranquilizers and antidepressants while in school, with exactly the same purposes and results involved in voluntary drug abuse by youth in the larger community: suppression of symptoms arising from problems people preferred to evade rather than to try in meaningful ways to solve. The drugged pupil population zoomed to approximately 2,000,000 by 1975 and was over 5,000,000 by 1980, when the situation became the focal point of another round of volatile protests by high school students and subsequent legal intervention by external agencies. Once again the schools were caught aiding and abetting the larger community in teaching by its practices the very opposite of what was preached in its pieties.

Alternative Families

☐ *Finally, one of the most fundamental changes, and one that met with greatest resistance, has been to rid both children and adults of the notion that all people who procreate must forever after be willing and able to nurture adequately the new individuals they have brought into being, and that all children must both love and live with their original parents, no matter what.* Older children and youth of the seventies began the dissolution of that frequently destructive myth by running away from home in increasing numbers, and in urban centers they established an informal (and often tragically inadequate) network of places to "crash." By leaving them largely to their own devices—and to the danger of predatory adults as well—the community of that day reinforced what the young people had already come to know: that neither love nor nurture was unconditionally available.

Today, the provision of the 1970s for a handful of "foster homes," with their susceptibility to inadequacy and occasional exploitation, has given way to the institution of the "alternative family" in which children may live and be nurtured, whether briefly, for many years, or permanently. "Second families," like second marriages, have demonstrated high degrees of success. These "new families" are available not only to children who have lost their parents, but in cases where for any reason the children and their original parents would benefit by separation. Alternative families include, of course, both the old nuclear family and the multiple and communal families that began to appear in the early seventies.

In this way, as in the others previously noted, we accept and act upon the dictum that the whole older generation is collectively responsible for the well-being of the new. From communities with such an orientation our children are learning values, feelings and motivations that may enable them to construct an even more humane society of which we still dream. Indeed, we have already discovered that a community really attempting to nurture its offspring is, in the end, better for everyone. Quite different from the seventies!

See also:
Van Til, William. "The Temper of the Times." CHILDHOOD EDUCATION 45, 5 (Jan. 1969): 243-46.

An Interview with Neil Postman
by Sandra Longfellow Robinson

Childhood: Can It Be Preserved?

If you have ever listened to a speech that provoked many ideas and questions, you can imagine how participants at the ACEI Conference in Vancouver felt as they listened to Neil Postman's keynote speech, "The Disappearance of Childhood" (*Childhood Education*, Mar./Apr. 1985, pp. 286-93). When asked to submit questions after the speech, ACEI members responded. From all points of the U.S. and many parts of the world, members indicated that they wanted to know more! Neil Postman graciously agreed to respond to questions about the destruction or preservation of childhood with regard to such influences as television, teacher and parent roles and responsibilities, the women's movement, and academics for young children.

Dr. Postman ended his keynote speech with an affirmation of his belief that childhood will indeed disappear. In this interview he expands upon this idea but also shares his thoughts on the conditions necessary for a reappearance of childhood.

SR: *You have spoken and written of television's role in the disappearance of childhood. Can TV be useful in* any *way?*

NP: I think that every medium has both its good points and its bad points. Television is very useful for creating national myths. National unity. It also has the potential to become a true theater for the masses. Although it hasn't done it yet, television could bring to all people the best in theater and music that has been produced. Television is also wonderful for people who are in motel rooms alone. And for the elderly. Yes, television is good for many things and other things that it hasn't yet achieved. But all that will not change the basic argument.

I think I should add here that the printing press was bad for plenty of things. Obviously, it created what we call prose but it destroyed, for the most part, what we call poetry. It downgraded the importance of poetry. It destroyed the intimacy of what we call the "oral tradition." From the standpoint of education, I think the printing press was largely a great advance and I would argue from the standpoint of education that television is regressive.

SR: *This question has two parts. Do you have children, and . . .?*

NP: Yes, I have three children. My boys are 26 and 23, my daughter is 19. And . . . the next question is, "How did we handle their growing up?" I think I can say honestly that we worked very hard to overcome what we perceived to be the drawbacks of television. We had a television set in the house and the kids did watch it, but we had some rules about it. One of which was, no indiscriminate viewing—just going and seeing what was on. If the kids knew what they wanted to see and when it was on, that was all right.

We also spent a lot of time talking to them about what they were seeing. Sometimes this was very annoying to them. At the same time,

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we filled up the house with books and lots of talk in the living room and kitchen and wherever.

I think being a parent in a situation such as we're all in now requires almost an act of rebellion or insurrection against the whole culture. It's very hard constantly having to say to the children, "Well, you know what you just heard is not true," or "The things they're telling you to buy are probably just junk," or "You know drinking beer, which always looks so wonderfully attractive on television, isn't necessarily the way to find happiness." You're constantly arguing against all these messages. You can't solve your problems just by buying Scope. That's not the way life is. If you have problems with your sexuality or sociality, you can't solve problems like that just by buying chewing gum, which is what commercials tell you.

If you're doing this all the time, it's exhausting and not many parents have the time, the energy or even the will to do that sort of thing. It has to be done with some delicacy and tact. For example, I'm a great believer in talking back to the television so that when commercials are on and suddenly someone is saying, "Do you want your shirts to be cleaner?" I will say back, "Wait a second! Who are you?" The kids, up to a point, enjoyed that, got the point and joined in every once in a while. But I must confess there were times when all this seemed very annoying to them and they would say, "Will you cut that out? I'm trying to watch this show."

So it does have to be done with discretion. After all, you have to realize this is your child's culture. This is it for them. It's always a little risky, even if you're a mother or father, to be poking fun, critiquing, ridiculing, calling into question all of these things.

SR: *Are you saying that it is the parent's* responsibility *to regulate TV-viewing?*

NP: The answer is actually a question. If your child attended a school or even a classroom about which you had very serious reservations, I think you would regard it as your responsibility to act, to change schools, to change teachers, to change something. But what seems to happen with television is that most parents simply turn their children over to television. And it's kind of a strange thing because if a teacher really was insulting to a child, most parents would act—they'd do something. Even just speak to the teacher. They'd talk back. So I do.

SR: *One of the problems that may arise is a social one—the interaction of those who watch TV and those who don't. How can those parents of children who don't watch help their children avoid becoming social misfits?*

NP: Well, that question does come up once in a while. I don't think that's a worrisome issue. For instance, in our house we didn't allow rock music, because there's enough rock music in the culture. I can assure you that our kids now know as much about rock music as any other kids. If you don't hear Michael Jackson in your house, you'll hear him someplace else.

Now I think this relates to your question because even if there's no television at home, there's no chance, unless there are very peculiar circumstances, that the kids will not know what the "Dukes of Hazzard" is. After a while the line between television and the rest of the culture becomes completely blurred, so if you don't get Dan Akroyd on "Saturday Night Live," you get him in "Ghostbusters." If you don't get "Star Trek" on television, you get it in the movies. The thing is so pervasive.

SR: *What about the responsibilities of teachers and schools? Do you feel that teachers can alter this trend toward disappearing childhood?*

NP: The honest answer is, "I don't." In the long run television is going to play out its hand just the way the printing press played out its hand. I think there's very little to do. Once a medium like this takes hold in a culture, it shapes the future. Although I think individual parents can do something, from the large cultural perspective I don't think there's very much that can be done.

My book *Teaching as a Conserving Activity* is more or less an answer to this question because, in addition to what seems obvious to me—the responsibility of parents to help preserve their own children's childhood and not just turn their whole socialization process over to the media—I think the schools have responsibility too. The schools are very well seated to do this sort of thing because the school is one of the few institutions we have whose most important product is not progress. Schools don't have to speak for modernity but are free to do what is best for children.

SR: *Do you really think they (the schools) are free?*

NP: Well, maybe *free* should be in quotes there. Obviously the schools are a function of the communities in which they are located. But I have found that most parents I speak to would not oppose school programs that are designed specifically to encourage the preservation of childhood and of literacy. Parents are not against that sort of thing—once you bring it to their attention. Part of it is parent education of what's going on. As I said in *Teaching as a Conserving Activity,* I know we're going to lose the game but we can exert some influence over the score. It's one thing to lose 83-0 and another to lose 37-25.

SR: *What would you recommend that teachers do? Can you suggest any measures for teachers to take?*

NP: One of the things is to make media themselves an object of inquiry. Study with the kids. I don't mean use television as an audio-visual aid but take television as a subject to be looked at with the children so that they can get some understanding of what it does. Have the kids keep a media log to record how much time they spend with TV, with records and so on.

Stress—even with the young ones—the importance of history, continuity, tradition and culture, because the media is not much interested in those things. What they're interested in is novelty, excitement, experimentation. I think the school and the teacher are well positioned to offer a case for the idea that they have roots. That grandparents don't come from nowhere. That, whatever their father is, these two people made him. This could be reflected in the stories the teacher chooses to have the children read, or reads to them, and in the attitudes the teachers have toward what is valuable from the past. I think the young ones should be taught more history. Where is it that we live? Where did it come from?

Place an emphasis on language. I think anything teachers could do to elevate language and the variety of language processes would help to offset television. I love it when teachers read. I think you have to search the length and breadth of the nation to find an 8th-grade teacher who reads to the children. Yet, I think that's a wonderful opportunity, if the teacher is skillful at it, for the children to listen to language.

SR: *Do you believe that, as the need for literacy declines, schools will become obsolete?*

NP: About three weeks ago the networks and the press carried a story about the new experiment in the Philadelphia schools. I almost fell off the chair when I saw it because in *Teaching as a Conserving Activity,* I predicted it, but as a joke. In these schools, they've put the English curriculum on cassettes to rock music and what we saw were kids, wearing their Walkmans and listening to a rock song to learn the eight parts of speech.

Now, if this is the route the schools take, or anything like this, in the long run they will be saying that mass culture can assume the task of the school. Schools are expensive to run. Therefore, the public will eventually come to the conclusion: "Well, if these kids are learning history through rock, or television, or whatever, why do we have to pay all those teachers and the upkeep on that big building? Why not let the media take it over?" If the schools go that route, in the long run they'll disappear.

But I think this is a wonderful opportunity for educators to find a role for the school and for learning, and the style of learning that schools always represent. It would make the school the most important institution we have. Let the schools present to children an alternative view of what the world is like. Television says that the most important thing in the world is instancy, gratifying yourself immediately. I think the schools can represent the opposite point of view: that, actually, deferred gratification is valuable.

Where television talks about "nowness," the schools can emphasize traditional history. Where television represents a type of visual form, the schools can emphasize language. The school is always more or less a conservative force in a culture so it would be nothing new to say to teachers, "Stress history or tradition or language or things of this sort." That's mostly what schools do, but I think it needs to be more systematized.

I'm also suggesting that no school should ever sponsor a rock concert, if the children have not yet heard the music of Mozart, Bach or Beethoven. Rock music is abundantly available, whereas the other is not. The school constantly has to provide the children with what the rest of the culture is not providing them. Parents have a responsibility here as well, of course.

SR: *What values in American society that allow so much TV-viewing would need to be changed to make* *a reduction in TV-viewing a voluntary procedure?*

NP: I'm not sure I know the answer to that because what is so great about America, what its strongest value is, turns out in this case to be its greatest vulnerability. That is its openness to experimentation, to new ideas. That is what has given the country such vitality and is the source of its rising so quickly to world prominence in a relatively short time. What makes it vulnerable is that we fly by the seat of our pants; whereas, in more conservative, traditional cultures, they have the grandparents in the back seat to say, "Hey! Wait a minute. Don't go off half-cocked. Let me tell you the way we used to do it, and it makes some sense the way we used to do it so let's hold on."

But we Americans go off and engage in what I call a large-scale uncontrolled experiment. Okay, let's bring to the culture all of these fantastic new media including the computer; no controls on it—let's go. As you say, "What? Why are we doing this?" the response is, "Well, because it's new and that's the kind of people we are." "What about the effects of this? What if it breaks up families and undermines religion?" "Well, that's a chance we take. We're Americans. We do it."

I have a lot of students who come from European and Asian countries and we ask, "What American government agencies and education agencies are you studying? Why are you here?" They say, "Well, we're trying to see what the effects of these things are so we can go back and prepare a plan." So everyone looks to us to see how we mess up our lives. One of them, an Italian, said if they had looked to America before and had seen what the automobile was doing to the culture, they could have prepared so that their cities would not be choked. Like Rome. You can't move in Rome. It's worse than New York.

We let the automobile reshape our landscape; change the nature of our cities; change the nature of life before anyone even asked, "Do we want to do this?" or "How should we proceed?" Now these people are smarter than they used to be, and they say, "We'll send our students to America and they'll observe the children and they'll observe the schools and the family and see what implications technology has had for all of this. And they'll come back and tell us and we'll see what we can do about it."

SR: *And does that get into the area of values?*

NP: Oh, especially with the computer. I think that the computer is a vastly overrated technology. I don't want to go into that now, but one of the things about the computer which the educator doesn't see is that the computer has a message to it. You know, the medium is the message. Here's the message of the computer: "The problem in the world is that people don't have enough information. So you can solve your problems if only you have more data." But that's ridiculous because if we and the Russians blow the planet to smithereens, it will not be because we didn't have enough information.

The point is that most of the serious problems that we have are not a result of insufficient data and the computer is presently diverting people from facing up to that. People's values, their attitudes, their traditions preface all that make up humanity. Those things are still with us and they cannot be converted over by this new technology that says they're irrelevant.

Joseph Weizenbaum, Professor of Computer Science at M.I.T., wrote a book called *Computer Power and Human Reason* and the subtitle is interesting. *From Judgment to Calculation.* His contention is that the computer is making us all value, in fact give preeminence to, calculation. And human judgment is now in disrepute. If you have worked with a child in school and you say, "You know I really see potential in this child; I see something in his eyes and I want to go with this kid," but the computer says that the data show we have calculated otherwise, you become sort of a sentimental somebody. Soft. What is this business? You looked in someone's eyes and you saw that the guy is reliable? I mean, is this any way to run an airline?

So, it's an interesting book because if someone like me says these things, then someone will say, "Well, what do you know about computers? You're not an expert!" But this is the guy who invented the program called "Lisa." He invented it as a joke. You type in, "I'm really having trouble with my mother." And then Lisa would come back, "You're having trouble with your mother? Tell me more." You: "She always tries to put me down." Lisa: "She always tries to put you down? Tell me more." Well, when Weizenbaum saw that people were really relating to this computer program, he was so horrified that he sat down and he wrote this book and he talks all about values.

SR: *You are touching on an area educators are dealing with when they try to counter a "test-score" mentality.*

NP: Another book to read is the *Mismeasure of Man*, by Stephen J. Gould. He makes a ferocious attack on the test mentality and, as Weizenbaum meets the computer freaks on their own ground and tops them, Gould meets the statistics freaks on their own ground and tops them. It's sort of a history of the testing industry in America up to the present. And he shows that these people literally do not know what they are talking about. Particularly on the matter of IQ.

SR: *Let's leave technology for now and mention some other influences. What about the women's movement and its effect on the disappearance of childhood?*

NP: It is obvious that the women's movement in America (where I think it has the greatest energy) is a good thing. Who could argue against the social roles of the sexes and their political influence? So everyone of any sensitivity and intelligence has to be in favor of it. But, on the other hand, you don't get anything for nothing. There's going to be a price to pay. Now, where I got into a little trouble with feminists before is that I pointed out that this has got to hurt the idea of childhood. It just has to—because, by definition, women have been the great nurturers of children and of the idea of childhood. The answer that, in the new world, men are going to be home watching the children is not very convincing to me. It may happen in a case here and there, but I don't see it as a mass cultural role.

It is just one of these situations where you just don't advance 10 yards and make a 10-yard gain. You advance in one area, but you're thrown for a loss in another. As a father of a 19-year-old woman, I am delighted that she can be a lawyer or a doctor or whatever she wants to be and I can't see anyone speaking against this. But, as with all social movements, certain valuable things will be hurt by it. Well, you just have to bite the bullet. That's why the question on values is so hard to answer.

The one value I think would be important, if it could be instilled, is a kind of love affair with the past. But it is probably the one value that, if adopted, would destroy America. The English tell me America will eventually develop a psychology of an older country. These people are implying that as we mature as a culture we'll begin to think a little more like Englishmen. In England I was in a town called Miltoncane. I went to this hotel and the come-on to tourists was a sign that said, "This hotel was completely refurbished in 1648." This is a come-on! Now, for us a building that's 40 years old has got to come down.

These people are saying they think that's going to change. That America very swiftly came to world prominence and didn't really have the background for it—we were the new guy on the block—but the new guy on the block eventually becomes the old guy on the block and begins to value certain things that he didn't value before. But all of this is in the future. I hope that some of our values will change as we become more mature as a culture.

SR: *Many early childhood educators have expressed concern when parents push for academics for very young children. Is this push related to the disappearance of childhood?*

NP: I hear a lot of that nonsense and I would recommend that these parents read *The Hurried Child*, because David Elkind talks about this. I think there is a lot of craziness going on with teaching your prenatal child to read. I heard this guy say that play is just a waste of time. Well, all of this is crazy. Do you know that there are parents in New York City who want to get their kids in a classy private school and permit their children to be submitted to a kind of audition—we are talking about 3- and 4-year-olds—that could break down a college student?

To respond to your question, I do think this attitude is related to the disappearance of childhood. One way to explain it is that the parents want their children to become adults even quicker than television wants them to become adults. They figure, "Now, let's get this whole thing over with as fast as we can." Traditionally, a child won't begin to get into serious academic subjects until the 4th or 5th grade. Now parents say, "Suppose we started to do this when they were in the 1st grade; maybe it would be over by the time they're in the 8th or 9th grade; then they can go on to college immediately; then they're adults and they can go out of my life and on their way."

I do think there is a connection between these two things. It seems to me that if the parents value childhood, then they wouldn't be in such a mad rush to get it over with.

SR: *We have always thought of children as our link to the future. Do you think that one reason we may not be so careful about preserving childhood is that we doubt the future?*

NP: That's a profound question. I try to blot it out of my mind, this whole nuclear war business. But it is a thought that is on everyone's mind and it gets on the children's minds very quickly, too. There is no question that something like that makes the future seem remote and abstract and maybe does account for peoples' not even planning the way they once did. People used to plan years ahead. Everytime someone bought a house it was an investment. Certainly when you decide to have children, that's the most profound connection with the future; and you do hear young people say, "No! Why have children?" So I would think there are many other reasons as to *why*, this one being maybe number one, which sort of reinforce television's message that the future is problematic and not worth thinking about much.

SR: *If childhood does disappear, will it reappear?*

NP: That's a good question, too. Childhood always appears when there is a reason in a culture for a distinction to be made between adults and children. I've concentrated my work on media changes and culture which lead to our needing to make a distinction. The Greeks and the Romans almost invented childhood. They came very close to it because they had a literate society and they had schools. Here's the way I put it: Wherever schools are really needed to teach children certain things, then childhood is strong; but, if that's not the case, then childhood is dormant. Childhood can reappear if there's something that culture has to communicate and needs schools to do it.

SR: *You're placing a lot of responsibility on the schools?*

NP: Yes, I think the school is something Americans don't appreciate because they don't know history. If they did, most Americans would have a greater appreciation for the school in America than they do. I think this idea of trying to educate everyone in a culture is a great experiment. It is one of America's most important contributions to civilization. It could be its greatest. Five hundred years from now, if we should not be here and other people are, if they look back at America and ask, "What was good?" and "What was bad?" I think very near the top, maybe number one, would be that Americans invented the idea of trying to educate everyone in the culture.

Now, we haven't been successful in doing it, but what is so grand about it is the idea. That never came into anyone's mind! What a fantastic idea! So I think that I am very American in the sense that I always look to the schools to solve the problems. Of course, it's ridiculous because you know, in your head, that the schools can't solve the drug problems, kids getting pregnant out of wedlock, bigotry. But we always try.

SR: *Isaac Asimov said that the three most important occupations in the next century will be: computer technician, entertainer and educator. This seems to parallel what you are saying.*

NP: Yes, I would agree with two out of three of those. An educator is one of them. I think that what the educator's going to be is someone who is always trying to gauge the effects of technology, to ask, "What are computers doing?" Now, my job as an educator is to do the opposite—to teach children something else.

As you can see, a discussion of the preservation or restoration of childhood offers no simple solutions or patented potions.

Having issued challenges to parents, teachers and schools, Neil Postman added an apt ending to the interview. "Don't the Chinese have a curse? When you want to curse someone say the worst thing you can: May you live in interesting times."

We certainly do. Perhaps our inspiration can come also from the Chinese, who have one symbol to represent both danger and opportunity. As professionals and parents who see the dangers inherent in a loss of childhood, we can take this opportunity to start an international preservation movement.

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An Invitation

"We speak for all the children of all the nations, all the lands, knowing well that in their common human core is more of likeness than of difference; knowing too that only as we reach that common core in children will men the world over reach it in each other." So spoke Agnes Snyder of the purpose of the Association for Childhood Education International.

Since its inception in 1892, and never more than today, ACEI has been firmly committed to identifying and fulfilling the needs of children and those who work with them. A team of dedicated educators and laymen, in cooperation with other professional societies and federal and international agencies, actively works to promote the quality and availability of educational programs and practices for children world-wide.

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